CLASH OVER HANDWRITING PROLONGS BELFRAGE DEPORT ON CASE . . . See p. 6

NATI
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MRS MADIE FEB-55-S
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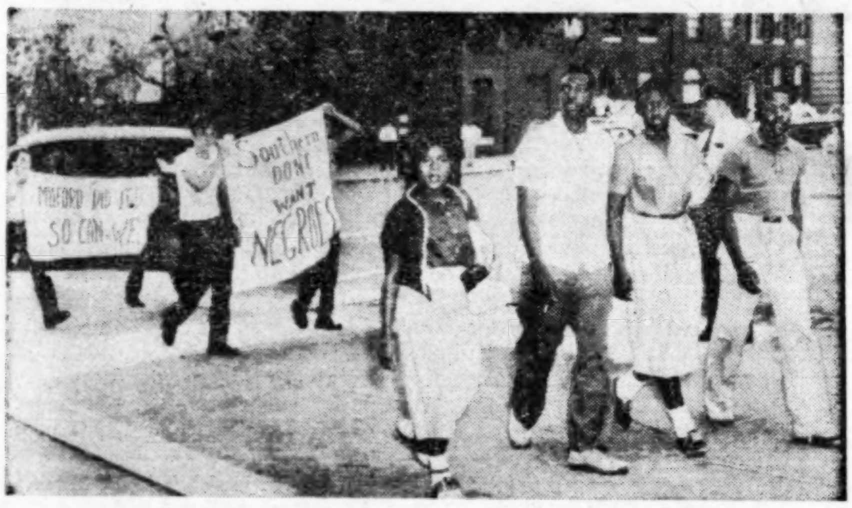
—ASP Workshop Photo

Equal and together—the way of brotherhood and love . . .



Unequal and apart—the way of fratricide and hate

In Baltimore, where integration in the schools began without incident, the Bowles-inspired bigotry of Milford, Del., spilled over in demonstrations like these at Southern High School. Said Bowles at a meeting outside the city limits: "The United States Supreme Court is not the highest court in the land. Don't let 'em fool you. The people are the highest court in the land."

BEHIND THE INTEGRATION RIOTS

Race hate fomenters fail to stir real school trouble

ON MONDAY, Oct. 4, two bands of students paraded through the streets of Baltimore, demonstrated before the City Hall, blocked traffic; in Washington, D. C., similar groups demonstrated before two high schools. They were against the integration of Negro and white students in the public school system. But headlines exaggerated the disturbances; by Wed., Oct. 6, things were approaching normal in both cities. It was clear to most that the numerically small outbursts were due solely to the efforts of a few persons who make a profession of bigotry. **(For the background of these, see p. 5).** The Washington **Post** summed it up last Tuesday:

> "A few troublemakers have devised mischief which quickly involved two Washington high schools. The pattern is so similar to what happened at Milford, Del., and to what is now happening in Baltimore, as to suggest a common origin. It is an ugly pattern. Agitators come into a peaceful community, play upon latent prejudices of a few youngsters and their parents and prod students into staging a 'demonstration' against an integration program that was progressing without friction and in good spirit; a couple of students behave in unseemly fashion; and then the 'demonstration' understandably frightens a number of decent citizens into keeping their children out of school because of a seeming possibility of violence."

RUMORS & AGITATORS: In Baltimore the active demonstrators numbered only about 450; at the height of the action Supt. of Schools John H. Fischer reported that "in most schools the number of absentees is no greater than on any other day." John J. Schwatka, principal of one of the schools most affected, in a TV appearance blamed the action on "the continuous current of inflammatory rumors circulated by trained and organized agitators."

In Washington the active "strikers" at two high schools totalled only about 650, representing seven-tenths of one per cent of the city's registered students. At a third school where trouble seemed brewing, the principal called a general assembly, urged his students not to allow themselves to be "led around by your nose by troublemakers." The Washington **Post** reported that most student demonstrators "appeared to look on the day's events as a lark and a more-or-less 'legitimate' excuse to stay away from classes."

MOVE ON NAAWP: Responsibility for what disturbances there were was placed upon the so-called Natl. Assn. for Advancement of White People which succeeded for the time being in halting integration in Milford, Del. On Oct. 4 Delaware State's Atty. Gen. H. Albert Young announced he will move in court to "revoke and forfeit" NAAWP's charter because of "abuse and misuse of . . . corporation powers." Next day in Baltimore a Superior Court judge dismissed a suit brought by NAAWP to enforce school segregation.

WAR & PEACE

New Soviet concessions in debate on arms raise UN hopes for pact on atom control

By Tabitha Petran

WHAT the world sees as the UN's most important task—to remove the threat of atomic-hydrogen war—was put back in the spotlight when the U. S. S. R.'s Vishinsky on Sept. 30 offered a new proposal to cut armaments and outlaw mass-destruction weapons. The Vishinsky speech—in sum a broad new Soviet initiative to end the threat of war—lifted this UN session at least part way out of the doldrums into which refusal to admit China had carried it. This was the view prevalent in UN corridors where the Soviet initiative was taken far more seriously than any reading of the U. S. press would indicate.

To show the reality of "the dangers implicit in preparations for use of such [atomic-hydrogen] weapons . . . the danger of atomic war for 'preventive' purposes," Vishinsky documented U. S. preparations for "preventive war" from Western sources. The new Soviet proposal, offered to remove this threat, based itself on the Anglo-French plan of last June 11, and involved such concessions that Washington—now admittedly basing its policy on mass-destruction weapons—would have serious difficulty in dismissing it. The N. Y. **Times** editorially (10/2) called the proposal "not good enough," but its UN correspondent (10/3) wrote—and the **Christian Science Monitor's** UN correspondent took a similar view:

> ". . . There is now a real possibility that a way can be found to banish the spectre of destruction by atomic and hydrogen bombs."

THE STEP FORWARD: The Anglo-French plan was rejected by the U. S. S. R. last June, while the U. S. gave it "general support." The Soviet position today is clearly a response to a post-EDC situation and to the initiative of Jules Moch, French delegate to the UN Disarmament Commission who last summer called the Baruch Plan "dead" and said:

> "Let them [the Russians] make a step forward to meet us and we will try to make another step forward."

During the London Disarmament talks last May Moch, who has long hoped for East-West agreement on disarmament to avert German rearmament, spoke largely for himself. Today his views more nearly represent those of the French government, headed by his old friend Mendes-France. The new French Premier shares Moch's view that the Soviet challenge is economic rather than military, generally favors arms reduction to permit economic reform, but unlike Moch favors some form of German rearmament.

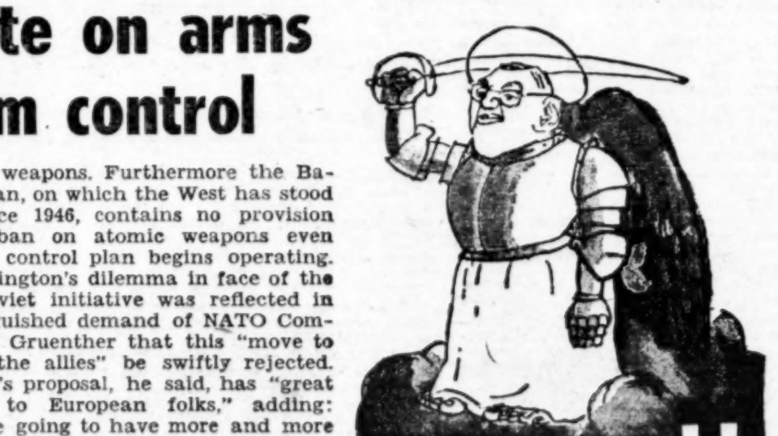
Moscow's **Pravda,** on the eve of the French Parliament vote which killed EDC, said the London talks had shown fruitful discussion is possible. After the vote, Moscow hinted the French proposals could form the basis for discussion, and has now formally proposed this.

OUT OF THE FOG? Although the U.S. press played down and discounted the Soviet move, later Assembly discussion may—for the first time—penetrate the deliberately created fog of misinformation with which Washington for nine years has surrounded the subject. As U. S. scientist Eugene Rabinowitch pointed out in the Foreign Policy Bulletin last April, it is not Soviet refusal to permit inspection (the U. S. S. R. long ago consented to continuing inspection, he noted) but Western insistence "on international management, if not ownership, of all atomic activities" which has blocked control of atomic weapons. Furthermore the Baruch Plan, on which the West has stood pat since 1946, contains no provision for a ban on atomic weapons even after a control plan begins operating.

Washington's dilemma in face of the new Soviet initiative was reflected in the anguished demand of NATO Commander Gruenther that this "move to divide the allies" be swiftly rejected. Moscow's proposal, he said, has "great appeal to European folks," adding: "We are going to have more and more trouble with that."

THE REAL ENEMY: Washington faces more and more trouble in blinding

(Continued on Page 3)



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris

"Now then, who's the boss around here?"

IN THIS ISSUE

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NOTE: A New York dock strike and the threat of a teamsters' strike have necessitated conservation of our stock of regular-sized paper. Therefore this issue, and one or two more issues, will appear on the longer-size paper used in our last two issues.

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THE MAIL BAG

And very sulphurous

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

White high school students, under parental guidance, prevented the integration of Negro students on opening day at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.

In West Virginia, for the time being, sulphur springs are still "White and Colored."

Colton P. Pick

Week's bright spot

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The GUARDIAN is a bright spot in our week of listening and reading smog-covered news. We weave among the lies picking out bits of truth. Then our GUARDIAN comes and not only gives us the truth but such a lot of information never even hinted at in the other papers. Keep it going!

This buck isn't much but there is the Sobell case and so many other causes to give to, and we are slum dwellers. The only reason we have these extra bucks now and then is that we are childless. But as long as we have a free newspaper things don't look too bad.

Young couple

Economic red light

ALTAMIRA, MEXICO

I believe you will influence more people by showing that while Germany is spending but little on the military, she is rapidly building home industry until now she is crowding the U.S. hard in foreign markets. Foreign competition is making such headway that a vast home surplus of goods is piling up which the U.S. consumer is unable to buy, hence a real cause for a bad depression in time. Another point to think about: while the U.S. is spending about 80% of its income on past and present wars and preparation for another, the U.S.S.R. is spending but 20% for this and the rest on building home industries, education, free medical service, old age pensions for all, and cultural enterprise. Let this continue and it won't take a professional economist to see what will take place and what it will do to the U.S.

Nothing appeals to people like what aids and hurts their own welfare. Your coverage of world events is splendid—to me the most interesting of anything in the paper.

C. V. Warner

What is being outlawed?

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Now that the Communist Party is being outlawed, it would pay us to understand what the Communist Party stands for and just what it is that is being outlawed. In this way we can better understand the sinister forces that are in power in our country. As a close student of communism for more than 20 years, I think I can give a reasonably fair picture.

The Communist Party sees America as a land where some people work hard for as many as 15 hours a day for a bare subsistence, while others who have inherited millions do not work at all, yet live in lavish luxury; still others, sincere people, both able and willing to work, cannot find jobs at all. Vast wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a comparatively few, while the masses are reduced to servitude to these privileged few, and have to say "yes, yes" in order to avoid being thrown out among the ranks of the unemployed. The wealthy few use money and power to control politics, thus undermining and corrupting political democracy, and turning the ideal of a government of, by, and for the people into a futile and forlorn hope. The land of the free and the home of the brave has become the land of the greedy and the home of the slave.

Communists do not create class divisions and hate. The injustice and inequality of sacrifice and reward in a system of corruption and greed create class divisions and hate, and Communists use the natural resentments arising from a rotten social order and the promise of a better order to gain power.

The Communist Party holds that there can be no government of, by, and for the people unless business and industry are also of, by, and for the people; that the wealth and power of private enterprise will corrupt the people's government and subvert democracy into government of, by and for the few; and that business and industry should, like government, be public property operated for the service of all rather than the profit of the few.

This is the ideal that is now being outlawed. In outlawing the Communist Party our government also officially declares that it is no longer a democracy, but a big business dictatorship, a slave society, of, by, and for Wall Street.

Vernon Ward

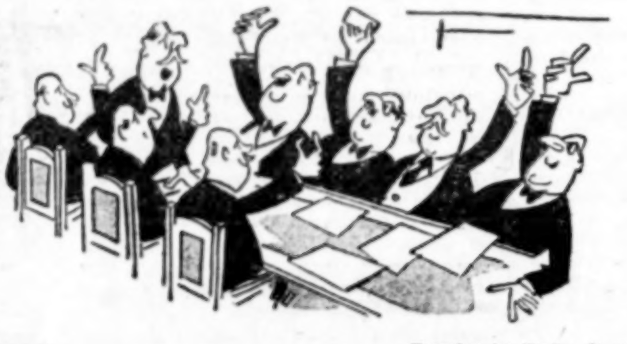
How crazy can you get dept.

Your readers have been blaming every butcher, baker, candlestick maker and a few million motorists for our smog. Isn't it about time to pick on the real culprit—Russia?

Now if Russia didn't have "world conquest" on her agenda—would there be any necessary need for our huge defense plants to burn so much smog-producing fuel?—J. B.

Los Angeles Times, 9/27.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner this week: Col. A. E. Powell, No. Hollywood, Calif. He was the first of several readers who submitted this item.



Drawing by Eccles, London

"Having approved the increased dividends, if you'll keep your hands raised we'll move rejection of the new wage claim. . . ."

Mexican migrants

HAVERHILL, MASS.

It pleases me to find that some other reader takes an interest in the plight of Mexican migrants. Some persons seem to feel that the Mexicans should be thrown back over the border where they came from because they compete for American jobs.

During the Korean War, the Administration favored loosening the restrictions on immigration and wished to bring increased numbers of Mexicans into this country to take the places of farm workers who had been sent to the front.

Encourage immigrants when you need them; and drive them out like cattle when you don't—that seems to be the idea!

I lived a short while in Mexico. Their northern neighbors exploit them by taking profits out of high prices on goods sold to them, and profits on the low prices paid to them for goods that they export.

The Church may squeeze dollars from the poor, as some have said, and undoubtedly the Church does get all it can. But, U.S. capitalism monopolizes all Mexican trade and is largely responsible for making the Mexicans poor and keeping them so.

The one-sided trade advantages force the Mexicans to look to the U.S. for jobs.

Haverhill Reader

Good heavens!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

God must have loved the Communists, for he has made so many of them. And he continues to make more of them.

Can it be that there is a coexistence between God and Communism?

Harry Fries

For Cedric Belfrage

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

Reading your appeal for help to enable a brave man to tear down a web of falsities and trickeries cunningly laid to ridicule his noble nature—my daughter and I went into a huddle as how best to help. "Money talks" is the saying, and it sure does! Here is the medium through which we want to be heard. Enclosed find $20 along with our best wishes for a good outcome.

Anna and Anne Medie

Popcorn and poppycock

SPOKANE, WASH.

Powerful voices are being raised urging us to return to the religions of pre-scientific age, telling us that man is sinful and completely hopeless without divine intervention. There is a violent, fitful, and offensive effort to keep men feeling sinful and dependent upon the supernatural. Orthodoxy and neo-orthodoxy "yawp over the roofs of the world" that we must return to this primitive superstition to avoid impending disaster. The church that through the centuries was so successful in retarding most of the nobler efforts of men—scientists and scholars in all fields of thought—would continue to block all progressive thought in the name of religion.

Witness a Billy Graham who noisily proclaims: "I had rather live in a world of savages than educated friends." Or again, from the same occult, shallow source: "On that day (resurrection) people will be popping out of their graves like popcorn."

L. Pontou

Please hold off

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.

Drew Pearson in his column of Sept. 18, '54, in the Los Angeles Daily News says: "Arms to Germany will be delayed 12-18 months at Germany's request." It seems no one is anxious to fight for our world supremacy.

John Radin

Israel and the Arabs

KIBBUTZ YAD HANNA, ISRAEL

Kumar Goshal stated in his article, "The Little Wars Go On," that "Jerusalem continued to be the scene of conflict between Israelis and Arabs." This statement presents only a superficial picture of the true nature of things here. The people of Israel and the people of the neighboring Arab states want peace and are appalled at the constant border provocations going on. Indignation of both peoples is rising against these killings and bloodshed. Who, then, is interested in this little war going on between us and the Arabs?

Before the liberation of the people of eastern Europe a constant state of hate and bloodshed existed between the Hungarian and Rumanian people. Today these two people are living together in peace. It was in the interest of the capitalist powers to incite war between these peoples as it is in their interest today to incite war between peoples here in the Middle East, to divert the thoughts and energies of the people from the struggle against their true exploiters.

The plan of Dulles and company, along with the British Foreign Office, is to continue to incite border provocations and then suggest to both sides to accept the stationing of American or British armed forces, or both, in their countries to "safeguard the peace," but on "condition" that both sides join a military anti-Soviet bloc.

Arieh Zakai

Postman reads twice

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am enclosing a check for $3 because my subscription expires next month. I don't want to see my name in red. I've told my postman he can delay delivery of the GUARDIAN or I. F. Stone's Weekly if he wants to read them.

Catherine Riendeau

Same baloney

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The State Dept. recently interviewed several youths, said to be "escapees" from Eastern Europe. To learn why the "Voice of the Big Lie" was making no dent on the socialist-minded populations beyond the Western-invented "Iron Curtain," the cold warriors undertook to "study the reaction to Western radio programs." They found out.

Even those who had been lured from their homeland by these inflammatory broadcasts had a low opinion of them. Here is what these self-exiles, some confused and others anti-social, did not like about the liberator's propaganda:

"Eighty (of 110) had complaints about Western programs. Inaccuracies — wild and exaggerated promises — irresponsibility by inciting to riot and giving details of escape routes — a tendency to boast of the U.S. — repetition of how bad things were in Communist countries, etc." Ten were wearied of hearing the same baloney repeated — one of Hitler's bad habits.

Jeff Patrick

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the progressive newsweekly

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"I love my family better than myself; I love my country better than my family I love mankind better than my country."—FRANCIS FENELON, Archbishop of Cambray (1651-1715).

REPORT TO READERS

Dulles uber Alles, or 'Seeds of Destruction'

ONE BIG SATISFACTION we all got out of the Belfrage Fight-Back Rally at N. Y. City Center Sept. 30 (see p. 6) was seeing the first copy off the press of Cedric Belfrage's new book, **Seeds of Destruction.** That night, it was just a set of bound pages sans cover and jacket (designed by Rockwell Kent); but within a few days we expect to be mailing out the first of a backlog of orders which have been piling up since we first announced the book in August.

Seeds of Destruction, with Belfrage's first-hand story of how President Roosevelt's plan for a free and democratic Germany was being subverted even before World War II ended, reaches its readers just as the final scheme for a rearmed, aggressive Germany has been forced to agreement among the unwilling nations of western Europe. For those girding now for the fight to prevent the re-arming of Germany — Nine Power Pact or no — this book is "must" ammunition.

IN OUR FIGHT to prevent the deportation of the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage's **Seeds of Destruction** is "must" ammunition, too. Frankly, our ability to carry on this fight depends on the help we can get from you and your friends — and **Seeds of Destruction** is the one way we can guarantee value received for your immediate contribution.

This book is not a treatise but a novel — a documentary novel, you might call it — which reads like Grahame Greene intrigue but is wholly factual in the events it records. Only the names have been altered, so that similarity of characters in the book to persons living or dead wouldn't frighten off a publisher. The publishers we finally got, Cameron & Kahn, do not scare easily, so you can bet on this book for good, undiluted content.

IF YOU HAVEN'T ORDERED YET, better get your order in now (order blank on p. 6) because we have a notion the first edition is going to disappear pretty quickly, once word-of-mouth starts going around about this book.

And while you're filling out the order blank, why not look out front on p. 1 or on your wrapper and see if your paper is being addressed to you in red ink. If so, your sub is arrears, and your renewal may as well ride free on the same stamp.

—THE EDITORS

P. S.: The U.S. Post Office has proclaimed this National Letter Writing Week, so please let us hear from you, as a patriotic duty.

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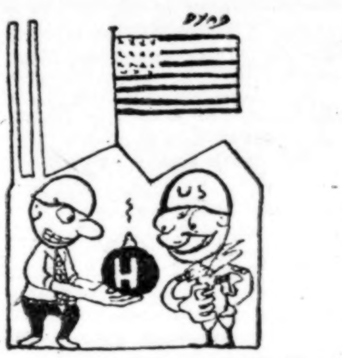
War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

even its own people to the real intent of its emphasis on hydrogen-atomic weapons. With its atomic monopoly long since gone, its pretension that this alone has preserved the peace has been demolished. The new line is that "to abolish the atomic bomb would mean, sooner or later, a third world war" (Sir John Slessor, **Strategy for the West**). This argument rests on the assumption that "we are engaged in World War III now and have been for many years" (Slessor)—i.e., that there is no possibility of negotiation, compromise, co-existence. Yet Moscow meanwhile continues to insist that there is no problem which cannot be settled by negotiations.

What the atomic advocates really fear is revealed in **Power and Policy** (Harcourt Brace, $5), by Thomas K. Finletter, former Secy. of the Air Force. Finletter believes the U. S. S. R. will achieve the lead in air-atomic power by 1956. This does not necessarily mean, he said, that the U. S. S. R. will then attack—but rather that it will then be able to lift itself to "ideological power" in many parts of the world, which would isolate the U. S. and begin its "political and ideological" destruction.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Look, boss—six times more powerful than the one we couldn't control!"

The real enemy is thus revealed to be social change, which is inevitably occurring throughout the world. Finletter proposes to halt it by bigger and better air-atomic power—i.e., by brandishing H- and A-bombs. (He himself points out that because the H-bomb may be a decisive weapon the urge to use it could be overwhelming.)

"TECHNICAL REVOLUTION": Social change—especially in under-developed countries—is bound to accelerate with the atomic industrial revolution. The N. Y. press did not even mention Vishinsky's sensational assertion that

> ". . . we have already built power stations which are operating on the basis of atomic energy. The entry into operation of these power stations in the U. S. S. R. marked the beginning of a genuine industrial technical revolution."

But back of Eisenhower's "atomic pool" plan one factor is clear: growing U. S. realization of how far behind it is falling in peacetime uses of atomic energy. The plan remains in a very vague state, as U. S. delegate Lodge's press conference (10/1) indicated. It has nothing to do with disarmament.

Soviet proposals

THE NEW Soviet proposal to cut armaments and outlaw hydrogen-atomic weapons takes as its basis an Anglo-French plan presented last June, and proposes:

- To give up its demand for an immediate ban on atomic-hydrogen weapons;
- To accept the stage-by-stage Anglo-French approach under which the unconditional atomic weapon ban would be one of the last steps following reduction in conventional armaments; in the interim there would be a ban on use of such weapons except against "aggression."
- To reduce armaments, armed forces and military budgets, within six months to one year, by 50% from agreed norms based on the level of Dec. 31, 1953; and set up simultaneously a temporary international control commission under the Security Council to supervise the carrying out of these measures.
- When these measures are completed, the remaining 50% reduction would be carried out. Then production of mass-destruction weapons would cease immediately and a complete ban be imposed, with all extant atomic materials to be used for peaceful purposes only. To implement this ban, a permanent international organ would be set up "with full powers to carry out control, including inspection on a continuing basis."

Washington hopes to use it to divert public attention from the real problem of banning atomic weapons.

ISSUES AND BABY-CARRIAGES: The West's answer to the U. S. S. R.'s proposal was given in London rather than at UN. There, nine Western powers agreed to creation of a W. German national army with its own general staff (500,000 to begin with); W. Germany's entrance into NATO; full W. German sovereignty; its right to virtually unlimited arms production, with a paper ban on production of mass-destruction weapons. The West, which insists on the need for minute inspection of every Soviet factory if an atom-control plan is to work, will not inspect W. German factories. Said Gen. Gruenther (9/22):

> "If you're going to have a police state with every baby-carriage factory inspected to see if it's making guided missiles, it's going to be very difficult to make it work.

JULES MOCH

Patience and perseverance

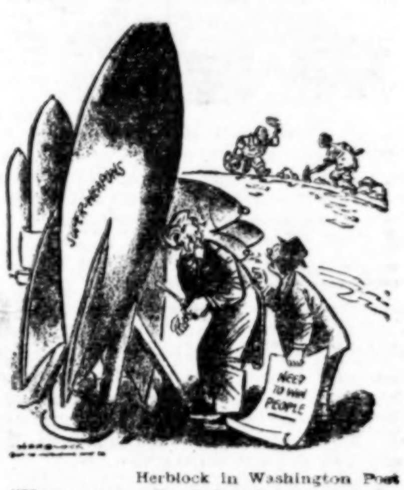
The London agreement, said Ludwell Denny (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 10/4), is chiefly "in principle rather than on concrete issues," and evades or postpones most key decisions. But the clear attempt to rush it through (the emergency session of the French Parliament, early meeting of NATO) shows Western governments determined to outrace the rapidly growing popular opposition to German rearmament and to achieve it, in fact, before the full import of the new Soviet proposals has a chance to sink in. (In N. Y., Moch said that as a result of Vishinsky's speech he would demand a suspensive clause in the London agreement to permit exploration with the U. S. S. R.—and if this is not granted, he would fight it.)

HURDLES FOR NAZIS: Agreement in principle was achieved largely as a result of the British commitment to maintain troops on the continent. This was possible only because of the Labour Party endorsement of German rearmament at its annual conference at Scarborough. The resolution—so watered down it didn't even mention German rearmament—received a tiny card-vote majority indicating a large rank-and-file majority against it. (See **Gordon Schaffer, p. 12**)

Hurdles to ratification exist in France and perhaps even more in W. Germany, where the Social Democrats and Free Democrats increasingly demand talks with Moscow on unification before any decision on rearmament. But, as in Britain, the powerful opposition may not be strong enough to overcome the advantages enjoyed by the leaders of the parties in power.

The London agreement has not solved the antagonisms among the Western powers, nor can it quell European fears of a rearmed Germany. As for the British and French governments which accepted and pushed it, they have cast a cynical light on their own previously expressed desire to negotiate and revealed how meaningless are their disarmament proposals. Rearming W. Germany can only greatly sharpen international tensions, increase the danger of war. Yet the unseemly Western haste to put the Nazis back in uniform may still be blocked. As Vishinsky said:

> "The will of the peoples of the world to bring about peace is growing apace, whereas the forces of war are weakening and failing."



Herblock in Washington Post

"How are we fixed for jet-propelled ideas?"

Free World Vignette

TAIPEH, Formosa, Sept. 22, (AP)—A Chinese Nationalist legislator proposed in Parliament today that all prostitutes in Formosa be rounded up and sent to service men's camps for "mutual benefit."

Interior Minister Wang Teh-pu said that while the matter was complicated he would keep the proposal in mind.

—N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 23

SMITH ACT VICTIM

Mrs. Frankfeld free after 2-year term

Regina Frankfeld, first Smith Act prisoner to be released, arrived in New York October 5, after serving a two-year sentence in the Alderson, W. Va., federal penitentiary for women. Friends who came to meet Mrs. Frankfeld at the train witnessed a moving reunion with her two children.

Mrs. Frankfeld brought greetings from her fellow Smith Act prisoner, Dorothy Blumberg (who is still in Alderson), and expressed great interest in the amnesty campaign for all the political prisoners.

A welcome home meeting, with Mrs. Frankfeld as the main speaker, will be held on Wed., Oct. 20, 8:15 p.m., at the Cornish Arms Hotel, 23d St. and 8th Av. under the auspices of the Natl. Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act prisoners.

UNDER NEW LAW

2 CP candidates ruled out in N. J.

FIRST COURT TEST of a section of the newly-enacted Communist Control Act of 1954 shaped up in New Jersey last week where two Communist Party candidates for freeholder (township councillor) were ruled off the ballot on the ground that the law prohibits Communists from holding office.

Bert Salwen, Trenton, CP candidate in Mercer County, was declared ineligible by County Clerk Albert H. Rees acting on an opinion by County Atty. Joseph S. Bash. Salwen's nominating petitions were filed and accepted five months before the law was passed. On Sept. 28 Superior Court Judge John Drewen refused to restore Salwen's name to the ballot, although the county clerk stipulated that his candidacy was legal and proper under state law. The same day the name of Charles Nusser, Newark, was stricken from the ballot in Essex County.

Salwen has announced he will appeal the ruling. The American Civil Liberties Union is backing his case.

Alice Prentice Barrows

ALICE PRENTICE BARROWS, an old-fashioned American rebel who traced the roots of her native radicalism back to the founding of the U. S. as a free country, died in New York City on Oct. 2 after an illness of several weeks. She was 77.

She had already rounded out a full life-time of devoted effort to the cause of progress in U. S. public school education when she retired in 1942, but her active interest in progress generally continued. An ardent supporter of President Roosevelt and the New Deal, she took a leading part in the early post-war years to continue the New Deal traditions following Roosevelt's death.

EARLY ASP LEADER: She was one of the early leading figures in the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions first formed in 1944 to support the re-election of Roosevelt. When the organization merged with the Natl. Citizens' Political Action Committee to form the Progressive Citizens of America (forerunner of the Progressive Party), Miss Barrows became the national director of its Arts, Sciences and Professions division. At her death she was still a member of the Natl. Board of the ASP, now an independent group.

Born in Lowell, Mass., Miss Barrows' father, grandfather and great-grandfather all were Congregational ministers. As a girl she lived for a time with her uncle, Thomas Brackett Reed, in Portland, Me. He was then a famed member of the House of Representatives and he impressed this thought upon her:

> "The level of liberty in any land is the liberty of its meanest citizen. That is why the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights are among the greatest expressions of human freedom."

EXPERT ON EDUCATION: She was graduated from Vassar in 1900 and for some years taught there and at the Ethical Culture School in New York. She studied education on a Vassar fellowship under John Dewey at Columbia University and for the next 41 years—23 of them with the U. S. Office of Education in Washington—devoted herself to educational work and school problems, becoming a top expert in the field. After her retirement she lived in Maine and Connecticut and worked on an autobiography.

Called before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in June, 1953, she refused to answer questions about her political beliefs. She told her questioners that her Puritan ancestors had come to this land "because they believed that no one had any right to ask anyone to testify against himself."

Services were held in New York City Oct. 5.

A definition of an American

Following are excerpts from the testimony by Gen. Mark Clark before the Senate Subcommittee (Jenner Committee) to investigate the administration of the Internal Security Act and other internal security laws, on Aug. 10. The excerpts are from U. S. News and World Report (8/20), which printed the full testimony.

Committee counsel Alva C. Carpenter asks Clark for his views as to the adequacy of our diplomatic representation abroad. He replies:

". . . My honest opinion has been that we are not too strongly represented by real honest-to-God, red-blooded Americans in all our posts. . . . Oftentimes we have people who do not understand the military problems that confront the military commanders . . . oftentimes there were people who were prone to placate the people of the country in which they were serving rather than to stand up for American principles and the things that we hold dear.

". . . I believe that many of the people who are attracted into that kind of work, into the State Department, are men who perhaps have lived in foreign countries in their younger years, with their families perhaps, men who are linguists, men who are idealists, a lot of them, men who seem to be just the opposite from a military man, who seeks service of his country through sheer love of it."

And on the subject of the South Korean army:

"The ROK troops were magnificent forces. They should have been built up. They died readily. They hated Communism and the more we can build them up the cheaper it is, in my opinion."

UNITED NATIONS

Asians and Latin Americans grow restless as U.S. ignores pressing economic woes; SEATO sits poorly, Nehru highly critical

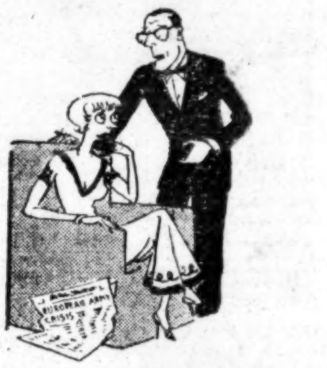
By Kumar Goshal
Guardian Staff Correspondent

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

DURING the first two weeks of its ninth session, the UN General Assembly listened to preliminary feeler talks, while the 15-member Steering Committee heard heated debates on colonial issues.

Running through the speeches of Asian and Latin American delegates was uneasiness over their countries' economic problems, and over Washington's opposition to the modestly-budgeted UN economic development fund ($250 million) and Intl. Finance Corp. ($150 million). The note of discord was sounded even when friendly delegates spoke in support of U. S. foreign policy. For example:

- Chilean delegate Dr. Jose Maza noted that under-developed countries were "receiving a generous amount of advice" but no concrete U. S. program of economic co-operation.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Well, let's put it quite simply—if A is a member of EDC but not of NATO, and B is a member of NATO but not of EDC, but both A and B are members of UNO, then if C drops an A-bomb on B. . . ."

- The Philippines' Carlos Romulo felt that the "growing reluctance" of the West to help industrialize under-developed countries "was one reason why the UN was on the downgrade."

- Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan—a country about to receive its first shipment of U. S. military aid—warned that rapid economic development was "the only answer to infiltration, confusion and subversion."

DULLES NOT INTERESTED: But Secy. of State Dulles, in his general survey of world affairs and U. S. policy, ignored international economic co-operation. On Asia he emphasized only the importance of SEATO and the Pacific Charter, through which

> ". . . eight nations . . . meeting at Manila proclaimed in ringing terms the principles of self-determination, self-government and independence."

On Sept. 8 in Manila a Southeast Asia treaty, a protocol to it and a Pacific Charter were signed by Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Britain, France and the U. S. Among other things the eight governments agreed to:

- Develop their individual and collective capacity to resist aggression and subversion.
- Act to meet the common danger of aggression in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.
- Permit other nations to join SEATO by depositing their bids with the Philippine government.

FREE—IF THEY DESIRE: A protocol drafted by France brought the Indo-Chinese territories of Laos, Cambodia and S. Vietnam under SEATO's protective provisions. The Pacific Charter pledged the signatories to promote self-government and independence "of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities." They also declared that

> ". . . they are determined to prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt in the treaty area to subvert their freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity."

Forced to drop the word "Communist" from the aggression clause, the U. S. signed with the reservation that it interpreted the pact as exclusively anti-communist. Despite pressure from Asian countries for specific economic commitments, the treaty had no programs nor any means of putting its provisions into effect. Formosa was left outside SEATO's jurisdiction, but could be brought into it by unanimous consent.

CARACAS ALL OVER: Many UN delegates noted the resemblance between the SEATO conference in Manila and the Caracas conference in Venezuela, where the U. S. plugged hard for hemisphere-wide anti-communist measures but ignored pleas for economic co-operation. For most Asians, SEATO could only be interpreted as a Western imperialist coalition designed to maintain discredited governments over discontented peoples, and to interfere in the internal affairs of Asian countries in the manner of Guatemala.

Indian Premier Nehru described the treaty as drawn up "chiefly by non-Asian powers . . . to protect other countries which . . . do not want to be protected." He felt that, with other interlocking Western defense treaties, SEATO increased the likelihood of war and tended to support colonialism. Walter Lippmann (New York **Herald Tribune,** 9/14) saw SEATO as

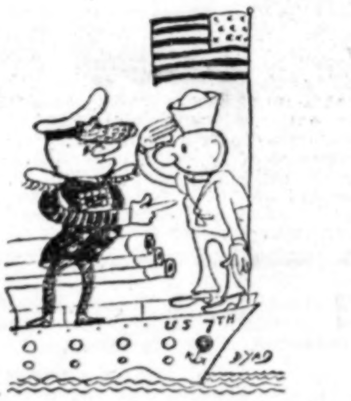
> ". . . the first formal instrument in modern times which is designed to license international intervention in internal affairs. . . . The eight governments did not go to Manila [to prevent] invasion of the territory of any of them by the Red Chinese army . . . [Thailand was the place] where the treaty is most likely to be put to a practical test."

The London **New Statesman** (9/11) felt that SEATO is meant

> ". . . to guarantee a status quo . . . for instance, in Bangkok [Thailand], where the government is as corrupt and as ripe for self-destruction as Chiang Kai-shek's was."

INDO-CHINA STRIFE: Despite U. S.-French solicitude, things have not been going smoothly in Laos, Cambodia and S. Vietnam. S. Vietnam was reported in a chaotic state, with serious internecine squabbles involving the Premier, the Chief of Staff, religious groups backed by their own armed forces and a gangster force controlled by the former police chief. **UP** (9/29) said French Union troops have sealed off Saigon to prevent a possible civil war. **NYHT** (9/26) reported "a startling change in . . .Vietnam's 300,000-man army [from which] at least 50% of the native soldiers have gone AWOL."

France was demanding that the U. S. bear the cost of maintaining the 185,000-man French army in S. Vietnam, describing it as "the backbone" of SEATO (N. Y. **Times,** 9/25). Contrary to Dulles' UN statement that "several hundred thousand" N. Vietnamese have "at their desire" been transferred to S. Vietnam, the Chicago **Tribune's** Saigon correspondent reported (9/15) that local Americans estimated the number wanting transfer at 74,000.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"If they get Formosa, install Chiang in the Isle of Wight."

THE ABSENT GIANT: The UN Steering Comm. discussions of colonial issues showed how Washington interpreted the freedom pledge of the Pacific Charter. On freedom for Dutch New Guinea, a Cyprus plebiscite, Tunisia and Morocco, the U. S. consistently abstained; Britain, France, Australia and the Netherlands insisted that these were domestic issues outside UN jurisdiction, and U. S. delegate Lodge was worried by "this tendency" of UN to interfere in "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." Nevertheless the Committee voted overwhelmingly to keep these items on the agenda.

ASIAN LEADERS TALK PEACE

After his history-making talks with India's Nehru, China's Premier Chou En-lai stopped in Burma to discuss peaceful co-operation between Communist and non-Communist Asian states with Premier U Nu.

Unreality was lent to all the UN discussions by the continued "representation" of 600 million Chinese by Chiang-Formosa delegates. Conscious of this anomaly, at the British Labour Party conference a fortnight ago former Prime Minister Attlee asked for immediate UN recognition of Peking. Even **Business Week,** in "a special report to executives on Red China," admitted that "Red China almost certainly is on the world stage to stay." It predicted that, although a poor country today, Peking's "new drive could easily make [China] the greatest industrial power in Asia."

In New Delhi, Nehru and Indonesian Premier Sastroamidjojo, meeting prior to Nehru's forthcoming visit to China, recommended convoking a conference of Asian and African nations to promote "the cause of peace." The Indonesian Premier suggested that the five principles of peace enunciated in the Nehru-Chou En-lai joint statement could be advantageously extended to other Asian countries (**NYT,** 9/26).

The children of China learn a new morality: joyful togetherness

By Lucy Vey
Special to the GUARDIAN

PEKING, CHINA

THE WAY things happen here, every day in the year really is Children's Day. June 1 merely serves to highlight achievements. The statistician could quote figures of creches, nursery schools and schools established or expanded. But all these figures would be out of date before they are collected, because in China every achievement is just another spur for more.

Having known Kuomintang China, I would place the absence of want first among achievements. There are no more small beggars, no little newsboys and girls out-shouting each other as they still do in Hongkong; all children in China are well-clad in all seasons and look roly-poly.

How did such a tremendous change come about so quickly in this huge country where abject poverty was fatalistically accepted; where children and especially baby girls used to be sold or abandoned in times of recurring famine; where thousands of children started work in factories when they were barely out of the toddling stage? The answer is, simply, that China has truly "turned over" with the establishment of the People's Republic, that parents are now assured an adequate economic status, so that their children can enjoy the prerogatives that are naturally theirs.

CO-OPERATION THE KEY: This means, among other things, that children of China's 60-odd national minorities attend schools where none existed before, and are taught in their own language. It means that all the institutions along a child's educational progress and local public health departments make child health and hygiene their daily routine, with timely inoculations and treatments. It means that a new spirit of co-operation is being fostered and encouraged, a spirit that makes us adults often envious by comparison with the competitive ways we were subjected to in our youth.

It means, further, that only the best in human example and artistic expression are deemed good enough to set as ideals before the child. The younger generation is made conscious of its responsibility and adequately prepared for building the still better tomorrow. The stress is on group achievement—a whole class will strive for good marks, not a child individually—on help to others, on love of country, love of people and service to them, respect for public property, for work and for those who perform it.

The former scholarly disdain for manual labor is now considered practically a social crime; workers and peasants are familiarly referred to in children's stories as uncle workers, uncle peasants, and their work explained with admiration.

TOGETHERNESS: Within this new social framework—where each is his brother's keeper through example and assistance—art and literature, films, stage plays, music, all serve this new morality of joyful togetherness.

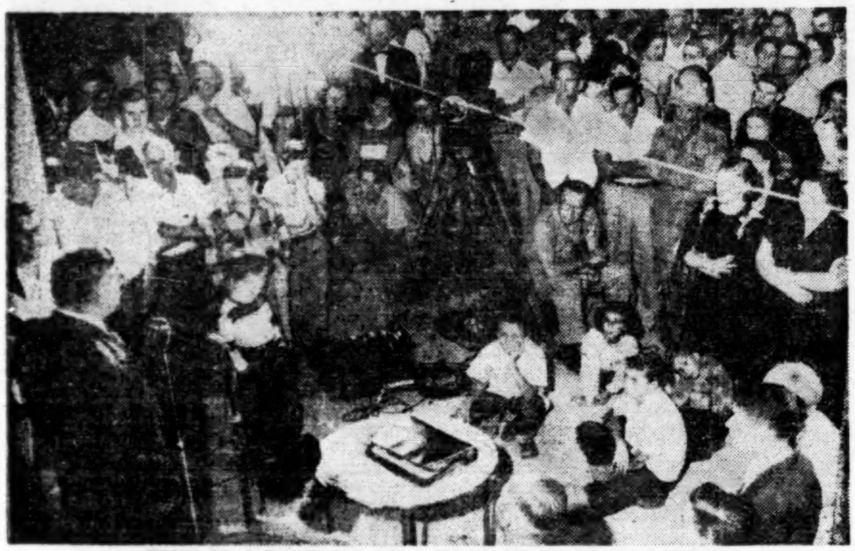
The children see films about fighters for freedom and model workers. They read books like the story of the shepherd boy who outwitted the Japanese during the war by tying a letter for the Chinese guerrillas to the tail of a ram, or like that of the ne'er-do-well whom his class helped to scholastic prominence. The small fry may read a story in which several animals band together and thereby overcome the big bad wolf, or they have stories from western lands served up with a new moral, towards collective life and mutual aid.

NO COCOONS: Facts are taught in a scientific manner, free from religious distortions or overtones. The children are taught to observe animals and insects, and to respect the ant for its "love of labor." They are taken to exhibitions, museums, factories, farms; or writers, artists and model workers come to visit them. A child's life nowadays is just a miniature reflection of life in general. He is not shut away in a dream world cocoon from which a rude awakening is inevitable. And nobody is attempting to put him into a straitjacket of fear and prejudice.

Children in China today know that they are the masters—not in a selfish, petulant way, but in the way of being able to rouse and command the best that is in everyone, in love and understanding, in mental ability, in health and vigor. And we grownups had better live up to their expectations.

TOP MAN IS A BAD-CHECK PASSER

Florida sheriff who killed youth in Groveland Case helps fomenter of race hate in Delaware schools



THIS IS A PICTURE OF A HATE MONGER IN ACTION
Bryant Bowles (left) talks to a rally in Milford, Del.

By Eugene Gordon

WILLIS V. McCALL, Florida sheriff who three years ago shot two handcuffed Negro prisoners, last week was identified as one of the leading figures in the hate campaign against Negro students at Milford, Del. McCall joined Bryant W. Bowles, head of the "Natl. Assn. for Advancement of White People," to celebrate the temporary "victory" over the U.S. Supreme Court and a majority of the Milford Special School District's population.

Bowles and his association a week ago persuaded Milford's new school board to scrap the high tribunal's May 17 decision to integrate Negro and white public school students. The ten Negro pupils—five girls and five boys—who began regular attendance at Milford [white] High School Sept. 27 (GUARDIAN, 10/4), were ordered out at the end of the school day Sept. 30.

THE LONG TREK: Bowles, who originated the "NAAWP" in Florida after jimcrow public education was outlawed, is generally credited with blocking the right of Negroes to attend unsegregated schools nearest their homes. Milford Negro students may now have to make a daily back-and-forth trek of 38 miles to Dover. The next nearest Negro school would require traveling about 30 miles round trip.

The N.Y. Post's Ted Poston on Oct. 3 quoted confidential information that "the backwoods Florida sheriff who shot down two handcuffed Negro defendants" spoke at an "NAAWP" meeting the evening of the day Negroes were forced out of the school.

Sheriff McCall, on the night of Nov. 6, 1951, while taking Samuel Shepard and Walter Lee Irvin from Raiford State Prison to a new trial ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court, stopped the car on a lonely road and shot both. Shepard died; Irvin survived to stand trial again. He now awaits execution. Both youths—with two others—had been accused of rape.

BOMBS AND BOASTS: The Post said McCall, on the platform with fellow Floridian Bowles, boasted of "victories" over Florida Negroes, including the Christmas Eve, 1951, dynamite murder of Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People organizer Harry T. Moore and his wife Harriet, and promised that "thousands of people" would come to Delaware to help defeat integration.

The "NAAWP" "victory" over Milford's school board took the form of this order, issued at 4:45 P.M., Sept. 30:

> "As a result of their deliberation, the Milford Board of Education decided, in the interest of the welfare of the children, and the community as a whole, to remove the 11 Negro students from the enrollment records of the Milford schools, effective at 3:10 p.m., Sept. 30, 1954."

One of the 11 had never entered the white school.

The state police meanwhile had publicly declared that, after "a routine investigation of Mr. Bowles in the public interest and for public protection, in view of the prominent part he is taking in the organization of an NAAWP group in Sussex County," they had uncovered these facts:

- "Bowles was arrested by the Baltimore city police May 12, 1953, on five charges of false pretense; was fined $25 and costs on each charge."
- "At the time of his arrest in Baltimore he was wanted in Tampa, Fla., in connection with bogus checks."
- "Warrants were also on file in the sheriff's office at Belair, Md., on two counts. Bowles was turned over to the sheriff of Harford County."
- Bowles as an officer of the Bryant Roofing Co., allegedly paid wages "to some employes with bad checks."

REJECT MOB RULE: The NAACP—whose 34-year-old name the racist outfit took over and twisted to its anti-Negro purposes—saw the "NAAWP" success as

> "the shameful, degrading spectacle of our duly constituted authorities ignominiously surrendering to the illegal actions of a lawless mob, thereby depriving law-abiding citizens of fundamental constitutional rights which are guaranteed them and which these officials were sworn to uphold."

A spokesman said the NAACP, "refusing to accept defeat by mob rule," was already planning the next legal step.

An "NAAWP" anti-integration meeting, hearing the news of the school board's giving in, became a "victory rally" demanding that the board "begin the 1954 school year all over again, beginning with classes Monday" (Oct. 4), so that anti-integrationists' children would lose nothing owing to absences.

SPREADING OUT: The association, using tactics Delaware newspapers hint are typical of a revived Ku Klux Klan, had moved at the weekend into new areas of the state. Distributing its four classes of application forms—One year, $5; three years, $12, silver card, $25; Gold card, $50—"NAAWP" urged boycotts of integrated schools in Dagsboro, Gumboro, Ellendale, Millsboro, Lincoln and Laurel.

Laurel Special Dist. Board of Education president William E. Prettyman told reporters not more than 25% of the crowd at Bowles' Laurel rally were native:

> "They were from Maryland, Virginia or away off."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) last Sunday called on Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell to investigate "the sordid outburst of racism," the "virus" of which has spread to Baltimore and Washington. He called it "a nationwide conspiracy to take from Negroes their right to equal education."

NAACP atty. Thurgood Marshall, whose arguments before the Supreme Court helped influence its historic decision, commented on the general situation:

> "The big story is that integration is being widely accepted in practically all the communities where it has been tried."

At home—and abroad

BALTIMORE (AP)—Movies of the opening of classes attended by both white and Negro students in Baltimore will be distributed by the U.S. Information Agency in 90 countries to counteract Communist propaganda.

Gulfport (Miss.) **Daily Herald**, Sept. 9, 1954.

•

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Groups of white men, calling themselves "citizens councils," were ready today to use persuasion, economic pressure and then force to keep white supremacy in many Mississippi counties, several legislators said. . . . Mississippi is 45% Negro.

"We won't gin their cotton; we won't allow them credit, and we'll move them out of their houses" if necessary to keep them in line, said a prominent Yazoo County planter. . . .

Some legislators said force will be necessary. . . . One even said "a few killings" would be the best thing and "save a lot of bloodshed later on."

Gulfport (Miss.) **Daily Herald**, Sept. 10, 1954.

REV. KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES

Spearheading a campaign for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Immigration law in 1955, Rev. Forbes, Protestant Episcopal minister of Philadelphia, Pa., will tour several midwestern cities during October. Sponsored by branches of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, of which Rev. Forbes is national co-chairman, a Walter-McCarran repeal meeting will be held Oct. 15 at 8:30 p.m. at the Detroit-Leland Hotel in Detroit. Rev. Forbes will speak at Chicago's annual Nationalities Festival at Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted St. on Oct. 23. Other meetings will include: Ann Arbor, Mich., Oct. 14; Minneapolis, Oct. 18; Milwaukee, Oct. 22; South Bend, Ind., Oct. 25; Cleveland, Oct. 26, and Pittsburgh, Oct. 28.

A salute to Charlie Chaplin will be a feature of the 2d annual Nationalities Festival at Finnish Hall, 1819 10th St., Berkeley, Calif., Sat. eve., Oct. 23. David Hyun, young Los Angeles architect, whose fight against deportation to S. Korea has attracted nationwide attention, will speak. The GUARDIAN's Bay Area representative, Malvina Reynolds, will be m.c. Dinner will be at 5 p.m.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

CALENDAR

Newark, N. J.

"THE PEOPLE ANSWER BROWNELL." William L. Patterson-Al Moss Rally to Defend the Constitution, Sat., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m., Ukrainian Hall, 57 Beacon St. Auspices: C.R.C. of N. J.

Chicago

WE ARE REAL HAPPY THAT Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes will be our guest at the 6th Annual Festival of Nationalities! Proceeds from this evening of colorful songs and dances to defend 54 Walter-McCarern Act victims. Ausp; Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Adm. $1. Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted. Sat., Oct. 23, 8 p.m.

Occidental, Calif.

SEBASTOPOL IPP CLUB invites you to Italian Dinner, Sat., Oct. 16, 7 p.m., Firehouse, Occidental. Folk and Popular Singing and Dancing. Adults: $1, children 25c. Benefit Campaign Fund.

San Francisco

LABOR THEATRE presents new show featuring Chekov, Peretz and O'Casey: "O'CASEY AND OTHERS"—Theatre Arts Colony, Oct. 16-17, 29-30.

GIANT ELECTION RALLY sponsored by Independent Progressive Party—Candidates and Entertainment. California Hall, 625 Polk (at Turk). Fri., Oct. 15, 8:15 p.m. Admission: 50c.

Los Angeles

DEFENSE OF THE FIGHTERS AGAINST FRANCO. Dr. Edward Barsky, Chief Surgeon in Spain; Commander Milt Wolff of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, will speak at mass meeting Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m., Cosmopolitan Hotel Ballroom, 360 S. Westlake.

SEQUOIA SCHOOL offering 6 week courses beginning week of Nov. 1. "Verse Writing," Thomas McGrath; "Races and Racism," Dr. R. Slobodin; "Problems of Dramatic Writing," Janet Stevenson. Write 4360½ Melrose Av., L. A., or call PL 3-1617 for complete information.

CLASSIFIED

General

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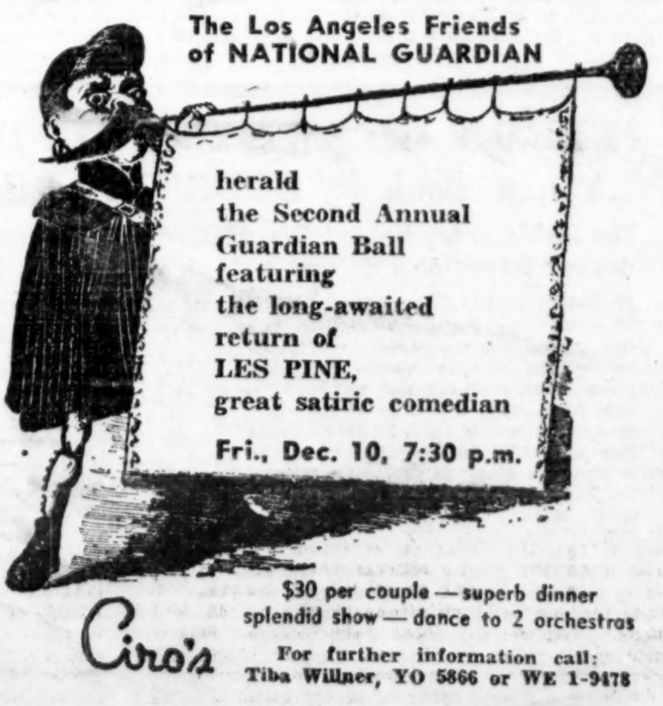
BOOK BARGAINS! "My Wild Irish Rogues," by Vivian Hallinan, 65c; "We Can Be Friends," by Carl Marzani, 39c; "From Day to Day," by Odd Nansen, classic Nazi prison diary (reg. $5), $1 postpaid. Send for bargain list. Wellington Books, 346 Concord Av., Belmont, Mass.

LOS ANGELES



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FIGHT-BACK RALLY IN NEW YORK DRAWS BIG CROWD

Action against Belfrage denounced

A BELFRAGE Fight-Back rally Sept. 30 thronged the N. Y. City Center Casino in Manhattan to hear the first public report on the Belfrage deportation proceeding from the GUARDIAN's editor himself. The audience contributed generously toward his fight to stay in this country.

Lionel Stander, editor I. F. Stone, attorney Leonard F. Boudin and Charles Collins, director of Liberty Book Club, were the principal speakers. GUARDIAN Executive Editor James Aronson chaired the meeting and read messages from two old acquaintances of Belfrage who were unable to be present: Rev. Claude Williams of Helena, Ala., director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion; and Hollywood columnist Frank Scully (see p. 7).

OVATION FOR EDITOR: Belfrage's address, which closed the meeting, will be excerpted for reprinting in subsequent issues of the GUARDIAN. It was the personal testament of a man whose life in America has been ceaselessly devoted to human betterment and the extension of democratic ideas; and whose works have been constantly before the public through his books, articles and, for the last six years, his editorship of the GUARDIAN. He was greeted by a standing ovation when he rose to speak, and was surrounded by personal well-wishers for half an hour after the meeting.

Boudin, a leading constitutional authority and attorney for many witch-hunt victims including actor Lionel Stander, put his finger on the chief effect of the current period of inquisition: "We have become, not a nation of doers, but a nation of answerers of questions."

THE TIGHT-ROPE: Of Boudin's help before the Velde Committee, Stander said:

> "He was my parasol when I walked the tightrope between contempt and perjury and avoided falling into the net the Velde Committee had spread out to catch me."

Of Cedric Belfrage, an acquaintance for 17 years, Stander said:

> "Only an idiot or a Congressman could believe that Cedric Belfrage wants to overthrow the government by force and violence [just as] only an idiot or a Congressman can believe that Chiang Kai-shek can be unleashed from Asia's Fire Island and take over the mainland of China."

Stone, publisher of **I. F. Stone's Weekly,** formerly Washington correspondent for the **Nation, PM** and the **Daily Compass,** characterized the McCarthy-inspired attack on Belfrage as "wrong, lawless, unconstitutional and disgraceful," the worst of a bad lot of deportation cases under the Walter-McCarran Law. He scored the U.S. press for not speaking out on the case, pointing out that while most newspapers profess to be anti-McCarthy, the editors seem unwilling to speak up in behalf of any McCarthy victim "below the rank of general."

I. F. STONE

KUMAR GOSHAL

A WHOLE NATION: Charles Collins, himself threatened with denaturalization and deportation to his native Jamaica, reviewed a number of tragic deportation cases under the McCarran-Walter Law, many involving individuals of advanced age brought to this country as infants. (The cases are covered in a new pamphlet by Abner Green, director of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, 23 W. 26th St., N. Y. C., "In the Shadow of Liberty, the Inhumanity of the Walter-McCarran Law.") Collins said:

> "If United States citizenship must mean this, they will have to denaturalize the whole nation."

The message from Rev. Claude Williams, the subject of Belfrage's biography **A Faith to Free the People,** described his old friend as

> ". . . a person having the most sensitive spirit, the deepest convictions and moral courage. . . . I personally need the quality of mind and heart and soul incarnated in Cedric Belfrage, the world needs it — and the United States as a nation needs it."

Frank Scully wrote:

> "I have known My Lord Cedric for 25 years and in my book he isn't what he is being called at all. He is really an old stand-patter because he hasn't changed his political views, as far as I can see, in all that time. He believed progressive legislation could remove many of the social ills of our society, a view advanced by the Vatican 60 years ago. He was against cruelty, injustice and bad art—and still is. . . .
>
> "History is full of quiet heroes of his sort. Those who want it the other way, the lawless sort, hate his sort of courage. Their weapons are deportation, concentration camps, sudden death. In my own case they have gassed me out of my home and forced me to retreat from Hollywood to Desert Springs for free air. In a sense I too am a fugitive, a fugitive from the smog, fog, grog and hog-eat-hog that is slowly making Los Angeles the biggest gas chamber in the west. . . .
>
> "Our chief hope is that before they can oust civilized people like Cedric Belfrage they will be voted out of office themselves."

John T. McManus and Kumar Goshal of the GUARDIAN staff also spoke.

•

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EDITOR'S DEPORTATION CASE

Belfrage hearing prolonged by battle over handwriting

THE Cedric Belfrage deportation hearing, which was expected to end with a few legal formalities at which Belfrage was not even present Sept. 30, flared up anew as Inquiry Officer Aaron Maltin brought FBI handwriting expert George F. Mesnig back to the stand. Mesnig had testified that a Communist Party membership book receipt-card for 1937 under the name George Oakden (Exhibit 24), and a number of exhibits introduced as Immigration Service application forms filled in through the years by Belfrage, were written "by one person." Elizabeth McCarthy, a top-ranking independent handwriting expert, had later testified to "very real doubts" about this and said no expert could categorically assert it on the basis of the exhibits.

On Oct. 1 Mesnig explained, with huge photographic blow-ups of the exhibits which he hung from a pole between two hat-stands, what led him to his categorical conclusion.

EXHIBIT 24: In the course of direct and cross-examination of Mesnig which lasted all day, Maltin said he "could have given a decision without recalling" Mesnig because Mesnig "gave a definite opinion and the young lady [Miss McCarthy] merely cast a doubt." Maltin said he was able "with the bare eye" to see that Mesnig was correct, but still wanted him to give the explanations. Under direct examination Mesnig listed the similarities between the handwritings letter by letter. When defense attorney Nathan Dambroff began taking him back over Exhibit 24 letter by letter to bring out the differences, Maltin stopped him irritably at the ninth letter and Dambroff put into the record a vehement objection to the denial to Belfrage of the right of full cross-examination and hence of due process of law.

The handwritten words in Exhibit 24 which Mesnig said were enough to establish its common authorship with the other exhibits, and which for Miss McCarthy were only enough to give her "very grave doubts" that the same person wrote them, were the following:

> "George Oakden — Calif. — L. A. — Studio — 7 — Dec. 2, 1937."

GUILT BY VARIATION: Dambroff was allowed by Maltin to cross-examine Mesnig only up to the letter "k" with a brief diversion to the capital "A." But with respect to each of the letters Mesnig admitted there were small or large "variations" between the letters on Exhibit 24 and those on the other exhibits, as also between the letters on the other exhibits themselves. He insisted that the "variations" did not constitute differences, and based his conclusions on the fact that the general style of construction of the letters was similar throughout rather than the letters being "such as generally are made." The fact that there were "variations," he indicated, only supported his theory that the same person wrote all the exhibits.

He was unable to mention a single letter in Exhibit 24 which was exactly the same as any letter in the other exhibits. Concerning the letter "o," he said that "the fact that even one 'o'" in the other exhibits was "similar" to the "o" in Exhibit 24 was enough to indicate to him that the writer was the same. Asked if this was a categoric statement, he said it was not.

EXPERT vs. EXPERT: The FBI's Mesnig seemed to have clashed head-on with Miss McCarthy, an expert of far wider experience who had not denied the similarities in the construction of the letters but said such construction would be expected from anyone educated in English schools in the same period. Miss McCarthy based her "real doubts" on the "important unconscious characteristics" of handwriting which Mesnig did not touch on. Mesnig on cross-examination said he had a "fairly expert knowledge" of British handwriting but that there was "no way of saying what particular system this man has been taught" from the exhibits.

The experts' clash had again warmed up the case, and the proceedings ended late on Oct. 1 with an adjournment until about Oct. 12 when Miss McCarthy will again be heard—this time giving her explanation with the photographic enlargements which were not previously available to the defense.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE SPEAKING AT THE FIGHT-BACK RALLY
He gave his credo and received an ovation in return

'SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION'

A new book by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

The inside story behind Sen. McCarthy's determination to deport *Guardian*'s Editor, a "man who knows too much."

CEDRIC BELFRAGE was an Allied officer in Germany during the Occupation. His job under Gen. Eisenhower was to help replace the Nazi press with democratic newspapers. Sen. McCarthy, defender of the Malmedy murderers, set out to discredit this operation in his attack on the Roosevelt era as "20 years of treason." Belfrage sought to disclose the real truth. McCarthy demanded his immediate deportation.

McCARTHY HAS NOW been censured by a committee of the Senate for "contemptuous" and "reprehensible" conduct, but the deportation proceedings continue relentlessly against Belfrage.

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION is a major weapon in our fight to prevent Belfrage's deportation. Written on a Guggenheim Fellowship, it lays bare the starting point of the intrigues against FDR's vision of a democratized, unified Germany. It is the story McCarthy wants to suppress.

THIS IS AN EXCITING, not-to-be-missed book—an "inside story" you'll want for your permanent library and to make available to your friends.

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OFF THE PRESS OCT. 20

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THE "FRUIT TRAMPS" FIGHT FOR THEIR JOBS AND UNION

Speedup in the nation's salad bowl

By Ione Kramer
Guardian Staff Correspondent

SALINAS, CALIF.

THE products here in "the nation's salad bowl" are not cars or steel, but lettuce, carrots, celery and beets. But unemployment from technological advances and its use by grower-shippers as a speedup and union-busting device is familiar to workers in many other industries. So is the spirit among the agricultural workers here to save their jobs and build their union.

Most of the migrant agricultural workers here are the "okies" of the '30's. Along with Americans of Mexican descent, they work from April to October in the vegetable fields and sheds of this area; earlier in the year in the Imperial Valley to the south. Many make their permanent homes in the neat little white cottages in the Salinas suburb of Alisal, which the "fruit tramps," as they call themselves, built from a sprawling tent city to a town with its own civic services. The CIO United Packinghouse Workers Local 78 now claims 3,500 of the shed workers as members.

BIG BUSINESS: Through concentration, according to figures of the Salinas Valley Grower-Shipper Assn., the number of grower-shippers fell from 71 in 1935 to 21 in 1954. They predict they'll do an $84,668,000 business this year. A typical shipper's net worth runs upward of $200,000, though some treble that figure through ownership of ice, packing and crate companies servicing the industry.

Lettuce was formerly cut in the field by hand labor and hauled to sheds where unionized workers sorted and crated it with chipped ice for shipment to eastern markets. In the last three years growers have adopted the "day pack" method whereby machines do the entire operation in the field without ice. Crates now are run through one of the valley's ten vacuum plants where the temperature is reduced to freezing before shipment. The new process was used on 25% of the lettuce last year, 73% this year. Similar processes are being adopted for celery and carrots. The result: during the height of the season there are between 1,000 and 2,200 jobless, with many working only one or two days a week.

BENEFIT OF LAW: Despite this, growers claim a "labor shortage." This year, with approval of the Labor Dept., they arranged for 4,400 contract workers from Mexico for field jobs. They get the employer-set "prevailing wage" of 82½ cents an hour for "stoop work" and 87½ cents for field harvesting, while organized shed workers make from $1.32 to $1.60 an hour. The union doesn't oppose the new machines, and it doesn't want to deny Mexican contract workers a chance to earn a living where they are needed, but it asks enforcement of Sec. 503, California Public Law 78, which states that contract workers may not be used to undercut wages of citizen workers. Other demands are a state labor act protecting the right to organize; full coverage of workmen's compensation and unemployment benefits; a minimum wage; and hours and working conditions regulated by state law.

Unemployed shed workers are willing to take field jobs, but the state labor office and the growers say they're "not qualified," though many began in the fields in their 'teens. To the union, this is an attempt to keep the shed workers, Mexican and "Anglo," out of the field and drive the union's employed shed membership down. "The main objective is to break the union," says Packinghouse organizer Bud Simonson. The union's aim is to organize the field workers and negotiate a contract covering them.

WILL THESE MACHINES BUST THE UNION OR ORGANIZE THE MIGRANT WORKERS?
California growers are trying to use the huge "factories in the fields" like the lettuce processing machine (background, above) manned by contract labor. Their action has spurred CIO's United Packinghouse Workers Local 78 to a new drive.

PAPER CURTAIN: The unemployed shed workers say the State Labor Dept. does everything it can to keep them from field jobs and keeps token orders for field labor on file so growers can get government certification for contract labor. The State Farm Labor Office keeps two sets of records, one for shed workers and one for those in the field. On one side are the shed workers drawing unemployment insurance or going hungry, on the other, a "labor shortage." But a jobless worker finds it tough to cross the "paper curtain." They ask an investigation of the state office.

Bob Mercer, speaking for the State Farm Labor Office, said the Mexican workers are best because they, like the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos, were "born to stoop-work," and have been "working in a stooping position since childhood." "A native American," he said, "couldn't stand that kind of work, sometimes beginning at 5 a.m., sometimes 12-15 hours a day."

Said one American-born woman:

"If we shed workers had known enough a few years ago and helped the field workers to get organized, we wouldn't be in this fix ourselves. Now we've got to work to organize all over again."

The local recently voted unanimously to invite Mexican-American field workers to attend every meeting, even though they are not yet technically in the union, and to make all meetings bi-lingual. The union's plan includes more shed jobs, despite their scarcity, for Mexican-American workers.

QUESTION MARK: Whether Packinghouse's West Coast organization of the nation's most exploited workers will succeed is still a question. Only a tiny handful of the 4,500,000 workers in the nation's agricultural industry (an estimated 556,000 in California) are now organized. In Florida the new independent United Citrus, Fruit and Vegetable Workers of America will begin its organizing drive when the citrus season opens this month. It is headed by Otis G. Nation, former Vice-Pres. of the one-time CIO Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union which won during World War II most of the gains the Salinas shed workers are now fighting to hold.

Every attempt at organizing California's field workers in the past has met with violence. Organizing drives during the '30's were countered by anti-labor espionage, Klan-like floggings by masked men, mass raids and arrests of workers, armed attacks on union halls, frame-ups and prison sentences for organizers under California's "criminal syndicalism" law.

The "fruit tramps" have a long and bitter history. In Salinas last June 1,200 of Local 78's 3,500 organized shed members voted at a mass meeting to strike if necessary to maintain their contracts. Economic pressures here have created a new understanding and militancy which cannot be hacked away as in the old days.

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"I CAME HERE TO TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT A MAN I'VE KNOWN FOR 25 YEARS"

Frank Scully's deposition on Belfrage—and the right of a man to think as he pleases

A final witness for the defense in the Belfrage case was Hollywood writer and Variety columnist Frank Scully, a friend since 1930 who knew Belfrage intimately in the period on which the government based its case. Scully testified by deposition in Los Angeles, with government attorney Max Weinman and defense attorney Gloria Agrin present. He identified himself as "elected Democratic member for the Hollywood area of the L. A. County Democratic Central Committee; president of the Calif. Muscular Dystrophy Foundation and the Desert Springs, Calif., Chamber of Commerce; and Knight of the Order of St. Elizabeth." Concerning the Oakden Drive address "in the Mulholland Drive area" at which government witness Martin Berkeley sought to place Belfrage in a closed Communist Party meeting, Scully pointed out that Oakden Drive is not in the Mulholland area but "in the Laurel Canyon area." Much of Scully's testimony dealt with Lars Skattebol who has testified in the case that three weeks after being taken into Belfrage's home for typing and baby-sitting in 1937-8, Belfrage told him he was a Communist and sought to recruit him. Excerpts from the testimony follow.

AGRIN: Mr. Scully, do you know a man by the name of Lars Skattebol?

SCULLY: Yes, sure. He was one of my army of transient secretaries. I had many. It was during the depression and people would come and go. He was a fast typist, fast runner and a great conclusion-jumper too, quite young, slender, blonde, nervous. I subsequently became secretary to the Dept. of Institutions, California, and I had 27,000 mental cases; and under light of what I saw in those nuttier, I was rather concerned for Lars. I wouldn't want to put him too hard under pressure in the present tempo of society.

AGRIN: While Mr. Skattebol was working for you, did you ever have occasion to have political discussions with him?

BELFRAGE & SCULLY
In Hollywood a dozen years ago

SCULLY: Oh, this is my political era and I must tell you I would be a bore now if I didn't convey here that I was a bore then. I had political discussion all over, bedside manner, and Lars, I might say, was so far left of where I knew I was going, that I let him go; because I don't know if I conveyed here too clearly, but between the Constitution of the United States, the Ten Commandments and the Pope's encyclicals on labor and social justice, I had my formula—and those who wanted to go off to the left or off to the right, I kissed the boys goodbye.

AGRIN: Could you tell me whether, in your opinion, Mr. Skattebol's political attitudes were also far to the left of what you knew Mr. Belfrage's attitudes to be?

SCULLY: . . Well, as I hope I conveyed in this testimony, that Belfrage's political attitude was British Labour Party, which is a parliamentary type of social reform, and Lars' were—his attitude was all over the place. I used to call him "Lars Scatterbrain" because he didn't stay in one line from day to day, it was wild. As I said earlier, he was a great conclusion-jumper, but he was quite young, remember.

WEINMAN: You have previously testified that you yourself have never at any time in the past been a member of the Communist Party of the United States, is that correct?

SCULLY: That is right. Don't misunderstand me, I probably have been called it more often than any of you people, but name-calling—see, my definition of a Communist in Hollywood in that period was a guy, a Republican I just found out was a Democrat.

WEINMAN: Did Mr. Belfrage at any time tell you during these political discussions whether he was or was not a member of the Communist Party?

SCULLY: No.

WEINMAN: Since you were not a member you would not know whether he was a member of that organization of your own knowledge, is that right?

SCULLY: I wouldn't know who was. I don't know whether you are. I wouldn't ask you unless you volunteered the information under duress or something.

• • •

WEINMAN: Have you ever obtained a degree in psychiatry?

SCULLY: Have I ever?

WEINMAN: Yes.

SCULLY: No. Not only haven't I obtained a degree, but up until very recently there wasn't any need for it.

WEINMAN: So when you make mention of Lars Skattebol, it's merely your opinion as a layman, not an expert opinion from a psychiatrist, is that correct?

SCULLY: No. I wouldn't say that. I would say that I didn't have a degree in psychiatry, but there are lots of guys who don't have a license to be carpenters who are very good carpenters too, and in this era in the twilight of the mind, I had a lot of real practical working experience.

• • •

WEINMAN: Would you come here today to testify for Mr. Belfrage if you had known that Mr. Belfrage was a member of the Communist Party?

SCULLY: I didn't come here to testify for Mr. Belfrage. I came here to tell the truth about a man I knew for 25 years and his being a member or not a member of any party wasn't the reason I came. I came to tell the truth as I knew it about a person who is subject to hearings of the Immigration Department. . . . I would come here to testify about anybody anytime that they ask me to tell the truth of their past as I knew it.

WEINMAN: Even though that person may have been a member of the Communist Party, that would not make—

SCULLY: Not the slightest because—

WEINMAN: Thank you, sir, you have answered my question.

SCULLY: Oh, well, don't biff, don't biff. My point is that I—

WEINMAN: Thank you. I have nothing further, Mr. Inquiry Officer.

AGRIN: Mr. Inquiry Officer, may I request that the witness be permitted to finish his answer?

SCULLY: No, he wasn't going to let me. He got his point, the game is over.

DUMMEL: Do you have something to add to your last answer, Mr. Scully?

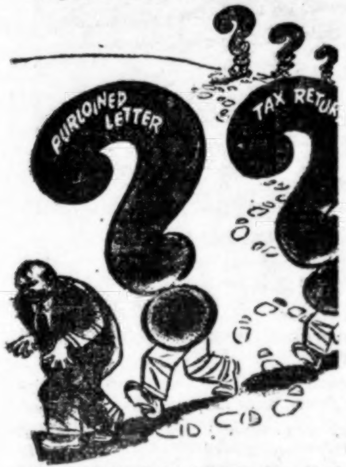
SCULLY: I certainly have. My point is that Mr. Belfrage or any Mr. "X" who would be called in any hearing and I could contribute anything to the picture truthfully, I would be a willing witness. I wouldn't hang under any subpena; if I physically could get here, which is quite a hardship—I had to drive 100 miles in conditions that have exiled me to the desert—I would do it. I don't say that my testimony would help the person in whatever his predicament is, but that would be irrelevant to me. I tell the truth as I know it about that person.

BOOKS

Howard Fast's 'Silas Timberman' — the awakening of an American

By Cedric Belfrage

WHAT is this new Salem, this new reign of witches which has fastened itself upon America in our day? What kind of Americans are caught as its victims, who provides the driving power, how do millions of ordinary folk accelerate the juggernaut merely by "prudently" shutting their eyes and taking no sides? Howard Fast does America and the world a most valuable service in explaining the whole process in terms of what happens to one man—a liberal but far from militant midwestern college professor of English—who almost overnight finds himself caught in one of the tentacles.



Herblock in Washington Post

McCARTHY MARCHES ON

News Item: McCarthy backers will march on Washington in November to urge the Senate not to act on the Watkins committee censure charges.

The modern witch-hunt process has been deliberately draped with a curtain not only of fear but of a noisy confusion of pseudo-legalities and perverted words. People in other lands, whose destinies are closely tied up with America, need to know the truth about it but cannot get it clear from detached newspaper reports and generalities. Most Americans, vaguely conscious of being led into a dark wood, cannot distinguish the trees which would signpost them as to where they are heading and how they might turn back.

Silas Timberman, the 18th novel by the most prolific—and most allergic to ivory towers—of American novelists can give them their bearings better than a hundred good articles and essays, by enabling them to project themselves into a situation they may soon face themselves.

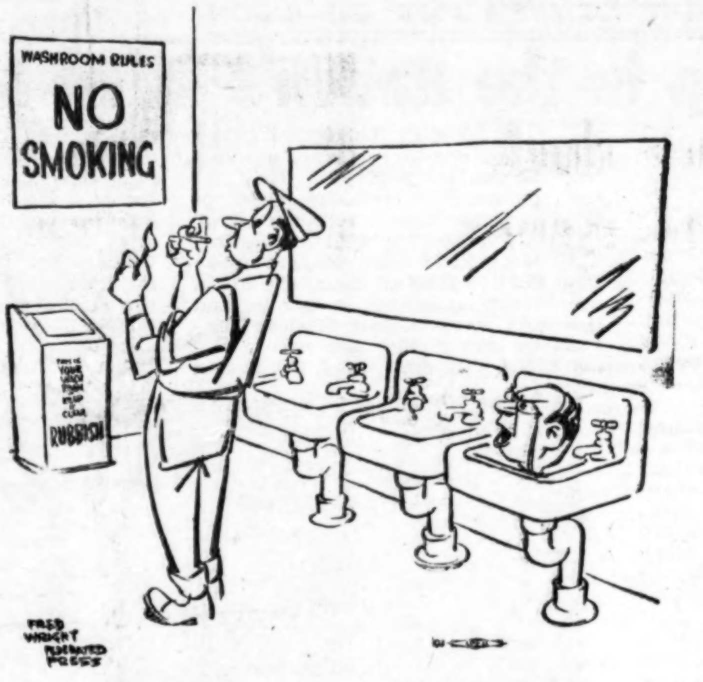
CRIME AND PUNISHMENT: A decent, not very distinguished man who knows and cares little about communism, Timberman finds out within a few weeks of the witch-hunters training their guns on him "what happens to people who are called communists." His initial crimes are three: he organizes his English courses around the study of Mark Twain; he has signed a petition against the A-bomb; and he has refused—because it affronts his common sense—to take part in "civil defense" exercises in the small Indiana university town. Finally, after innate decency has overcome the fears with which both he and his wife are beset, he publicly defends on the campus a fellow-professor who has been politically victimized.

From there the inexorable witch-hunt octopus reaching out for him parades him through its nightmare ritual: the Congressional committee "hearing," the suspension from his job, the mob attack on his home and children, the indictment for perjury for telling the committee the truth. The end is jail—but jail for a man who has been slapped out of his drowsiness into angry awareness of what his manhood demands that he fight for—and against; an intellectual who has learned the price of maintaining his self-respect and acquired new wisdom as to who are really his friends.

EFFECTIVE SIMPLICITY: Fast's importance as a writer does not lie in profound probing and exposition of his characters, who are always inclined—especially his women—to be rather "types" than realized individuals. But he does not attempt what he cannot do, and the simplicity of his design has a universally appealing effectiveness.

He has something to say, not to sophisticates but to plain people who respond to plain answers. His skill in stripping an apparently complex theme down to its essentials, and above all in the ancient and honorable art of telling a story, compels our admiration and gratitude for **Silas Timberman.**

SILAS TIMBERMAN, by Howard Fast. Blue Heron Press (47 W. 63d St., N.Y.C. 23), 311 pp. $3.



"I'm warning you for the last time, Irving!"

RUNAWAY REINED IN

UE in sit-down strike at Brooklyn razor plant

FOR almost a year the American Safety Razor Co. has been trying to run away from Brooklyn's union wage rates to Staunton, Va. Last week some 150 of its workers held the plant, 115 Jay St., in a sit-down strike.

After heated negotiations last August the company and Local 475 of the United Electrical Workers reached an agreement: the company would guarantee at least 750 jobs until May 1, grant union demands for a 5c wage raise, a hiring-hall plan, pension and severance pay. The union saw in the agreement a ten-month reprieve in which it could rally community leaders and legislators in a campaign to hold back the run-away.

THE SWITCH: The union's campaign won support from Congressmen and candidates for election in Brooklyn. Though the union had ratified and signed the contract, the company delayed formal signing, then on Sept. 9 refused outright. In a letter to Local 475 business manager Clifton Cameron, the company explained:

"Since the **UE Blade** [the local's paper] and your leaflets now raise the question [opposing the run-away] our negotiators are instructed not to sign any agreement with your union which does not plainly and without further chance of misunderstanding, provide for the company's removal without interference from the union."

Subsequent negotiations were fruitless. When the day shift ended on Sept. 30, some 100 workers stayed at their machines, switched on radios to hear the world series game, broke out checker boards. The company closed all doors, locking out the night shift.

FOR THE DURATION: The local's pickets were joined on the line by UE members from other locals and by delegates to the UE convention then in session. Food, cigarettes, clothing changes were hoisted to the sit-downers through windows. Inside, the strikers took over the cafeteria, barring company officials. Over the week-end the original sit-downers were reinforced by others who found their way into the beseiged plant, ready to stay in until the contract was signed.

On Tuesday, 6th day of the sit-down, the company applied to State Supreme Court Justice George A. Arkwright for an injunction to halt the strike. Judge Arkwright asked that briefs be filed in the case by 4 p.m., Wednesday, Oct. 6.

The ungenerous ones

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At its last meeting, the editorial board of Venture voted unanimously to support Cedric Belfrage's defense against deportation.

We do not feel quite as generous as the Immigration Dept. and do not wish to contribute Belfrage elsewhere. The allegations sound awfully shop-worn and leave us singularly unimpressed. In fact, we are inclined to regard these proceedings as an effort to deport the GUARDIAN. The $5 enclosed is merely meant to punctuate our spiritual support.

J. Friedman (for the Board)

Silas Timberman
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HOWARD FAST

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A whole generation of Americans have found hope and sustenance for the democratic struggle in the books of Howard Fast; yet now his work is more meaningful than ever. And of all his books, SILAS TIMBERMAN will mean the most to you, for in essence it is a book about yourself, your best hopes and your bravest dreams.

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NEW YORK

Irv and Ave duck on big state issues

LAST week's key political problem seemed to be how to persuade New Yorkers it was worth while to vote. Early registration tallies were so low that, failing a last-minute rush to the polls, it was feared the total would drop well below that of 1950, the last comparable election year.

The Democrats, who stand to lose heavily by a sharp drop in city registration, blamed it on the Republican legislature's action in splitting the registration week. Republicans countered by explaining that they had the Jewish holy days in mind. Other reasons offered were the World Series and a prolonged hot spell.

DON'T MENTION JOE: Unspoken, but plainly evident, was a widely-felt yawning boredom with a campaign that to date has produced few clashes between the major contenders on issues close to people's needs. One issue—McCarthy—might have stirred voters but by "common consent" (N.Y. Times, 9/30) it was to be avoided by Republicans and Democrats. The GOP's Irving M. Ives and the Democrats' Averell Harriman have both criticized McCarthy for the record, but neither side would take a stand on the "censure" recommendation despite urging by the ALP's John T. McManus.

JOHN T. McMANUS
There were no takers

Both parties wanted to hold what McCarthyite support they had; in addition the Democrats said they feared a campaign against McCarthy would sound like a campaign against the Irish. There were real issues such as peace, unemployment, the inadequacy of schools, the growing legislative restrictions on labor with local application in the regimentation scheme on the waterfront (which neither party opposes). These remained the exclusive material for ALP campaigners.

HARLEM BLUES: To make up for lack of issues the Democrats sent Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. to Harlem with flares, placards and a Dixieland band which stopped on street-corners to play the "South Rampart St. Parade," "The Muskrat Ramble" and "Franklin D. Roosevelt Jones." Roosevelt drew large crowds, signed autographs, smiled, in pleas to register promised that the Democrats would "really do something" about discrimination, rents and fares. A woman on a Harlem corner said: "You are going to be just like your father"; Roosevelt answered: "I'm sure going to try."

With memories of the Democratic convention floor fight still rankling, Harriman hastened to get into the act. On Sunday he too went to Harlem. He rode in an open baby-blue car with Margaret Truman, Borough Pres. Hulan Jack and Mrs. Jack. He drew far less people than Roosevelt and was finally rained out. Meanwhile Roosevelt strolled through Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section and along the Coney Island Boardwalk with sound-truck and reporters alongside. The N.Y. Times noted "the same professionally organized quality" that had marked his Harlem swing.

HAPPY, HAPPY: Harriman and Ives joined each other briefly in reviewing a Pulaski Day parade along Fifth Av. of bitterly anti-communist groups. At a reception in the Biltmore Hotel before the parade Ives slapped Harriman on the back and told reporters: "We will be just as happy toward each other at the end of this campaign as we are now."

The week-end campaigning brought only a slight rise in registration. The ALP, alarmed by the mid-week lag in registration, urged New Yorkers to tag on a registration reminder to all telephone conversations and business letters.

THE SKELETON: The Democrats fumbled badly at the campaign's start with a hurried withdrawal of their candidate for controller, Aaron Jacoby, one week after he was nominated by acclamation. After a conference with top Democratic leaders at the Biltmore Hotel Jacoby, chief clerk of Brooklyn's Surrogate Court, told newsmen he was stepping out to save his party embarrassment growing out of a scandal the Republicans would be sure to exhume. Jacoby's past: In 1934 he was an official of a Brooklyn bus line, the Eastern Parkway, Brownsville and East N.Y. Transit Relief Assn., now defunct. He was also serving as Kings County register at the time. Jacoby and one other official were charged with defrauding the city of $63,000 in taxes and penalties. Though last week Jacoby said the charges had been "disproved," the record showed that the case was closed only when he settled with the city for $60,923.

RALPH POWE
He'd withdraw, if . . .

Harriman, Roosevelt and De Luca expressed full confidence in Jacoby's "integrity" but accepted his resignation from the ticket. When word of Jacoby's withdrawal first spread it was hoped that the vacancy might be filled by a Negro nominee; ALP's Ralph Powe formally announced his willingness to withdraw in favor of a Negro candidate on a major slate.

BALANCING ACT: The Democrats picked Col. Arthur Levitt, pres. of the Bd. of Education, for the job—thereby keeping their ticket in "balance" by preserving Jewish representation. Levitt, who announced he will retain his post during the campaign, has presided over the Board throughout its probe of teachers' politics.

ALP full radio-TV schedule

THE American Labor Party has announced the following radio and TV schedule for the campaign:

Oct. 8: WHOM, 11-11:15 p.m.; Oct. 11: WQXR, 7:45-8 p.m., WPIX, Channel 11, 10-30-10:45 p.m.; Oct. 12: WMGM, 9:15-9:30 p.m., WABD, Channel 5, 9:30-9:45 p.m.; Oct. 13: WMCA, 9:15-9:30 p.m.; Oct. 16: WCBS, Channel 2, 1:30-2 p.m.; Oct. 18: WQXR, 7:45-8 p.m., WPIX, Channel 11, 10:30-10:45 p.m.; Oct. 19: WMGM, 9:15-9:30 p.m.; Oct. 20: WMCA, 9:15-9:30 p.m., WABD, Channel 5, 10:30-10:45 p.m.; Oct. 21: WMCA, 9:15-9:30 p.m.; Oct. 22: WCBS, 10-15-10:30 p.m.; Oct. 25: WQXR, 7:45-8 p.m.; Oct. 26: WMGM, 9:15-9:30 p.m., WHOM, 11-11:15 p.m.; Oct. 27: WMCA, 9:15-9:30 p.m.; Oct. 29: WABD, Channel 5, 8:30-8:45 p.m.

STRIKE
OFFICIAL STRIKE

THREE'S AS GOOD AS A CROWD
N.Y. dockers didn't need mass picket lines; there were no strikebreakers

PEACE ON THE WATERFRONT

One-day strike without scabs nets back pay for the ILA

By Elmer Bendiner

THE independent Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. had won everything it fought for in N.Y. port—except more pay. That lack lay behind the one-day strike which last week completely tied up the port for the second time this year.

For a full year N.Y. dockers had been without a contract. While it was fighting off AFL raids and government intervention in New York, ILA longshoremen in other Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports were winning 10c and 13c packages of wage and welfare boosts.

Last September, in an NLRB election, the ILA won full bargaining rights and AFL Pres. Meany bitterly advised members of his new Intl. Brotherhood of Longshoremen to return to the ILA: "We have no doubt their friends, the employers, will give them the union shop, and we cannot ask our people to sacrifice their jobs by refusing to pay dues to the ILA." The advice was superfluous; the men were already returning.

NEW UNITY: The union scored another victory, never achieved while it was in the AFL, when Local 33 of the CIO Marine Engineers Beneficial Assn. turned over $20,000 to ILA's Capt. Bradley to build a solid port-wide front of maritime unions, CIO, AFL and independent, including the tugboat workers who recently affiliated with the United Mine Workers. MEBA, paying its respects to ILA's fight, signed a mutual aid pact with ILA, pledging help in strikes and bargaining.

Inside the union there were other hopeful developments, though leaders like "Tough Tony" Anastasia and Albert Ackalitis of the "pistol local" still held office. Even in Anastasia's territory the little local machines were merged and in the resulting big locals elections were held under Honest Ballot Assn. auspices without noticeable strong-arm squads. The sugar piers, setting another precedent, elected a business agent who is both a working longshoreman and a Puerto Rican.

BOSSES BALK: These gains would be meaningless unless backed up in bread-and-butter terms. When negotiations with the N.Y. Shipping Assn. began in mid-September the ILA put at the top of the agenda an 8c wage and 2c welfare package retroactive to October 1, 1953, to catch up with other ports. After that, said union negotiators, the coming year's contract could be negotiated. It would mean a cash payment of $166 to any longshoreman who had worked 40 hours a week for the whole year.

The shippers insisted on tying that demand to contract negotiations; the union insisted on immediate settlement of retroactive pay with no strings attached. Union negotiators then told the shippers the membership was prepared to strike unless that demand was settled by Oct. 1, end of one of the leanest, toughest years the port's longshoremen had ever known. On Sept. 15 a N.Y. Herald-Tribune headline warned "ILA STRIKE LOOMING ON RETROACTIVITY ISSUE."

NEW THREATS: The Waterfront Commission, which had been organized by Gov. Dewey with New Jersey participation as part of an anti-union offensive, stepped in as the strike grew imminent. Its executive director Samuel Lane announced Oct. 2 that he had heard that only ILA men were to be hired on piers and that a maneuver by the shippers was restoring something like the old shape-up on the piers. (The commission had replaced the universally hated shape-up with another evil: state controlled hiring halls with full power to screen workers.) Lane blasted the ILA, promised new public hearings Oct. 11 and warned that an anti-strike injunction the commission had secured last April was still in effect.

On Oct. 4, 25 ILA locals voted unanimously to strike. At midnight picket lines formed and by morning the port was tied up except for Army bases in Brooklyn, Staten Island and New Jersey. The union's exec. vice pres. Patrick J. Connolly charged that "whatever chance had remained for continued negotiations was ruined by the intervention of the Waterfront Commission." Capt. Bradley warned the strike might spread from Maine to Virginia.

QUICK VICTORY: The strike this time found the ILA in its all-time strongest position, its membership undivided, unworried about rivals or strikebreakers. Within 24 hours the shippers agreed to the ILA's key demand: an 8c an hour wage boost retroactive to Oct. 1, 1953. Shippers had boosted the welfare benefit by 2c last April and the union dropped its demand to make that retroactive back to October winning in exchange a promise of "full consideration" for future increases in welfare contributions. The ILA agreed not to strike for the next 45 days during which negotiations for a new contract will continue.

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The real facts

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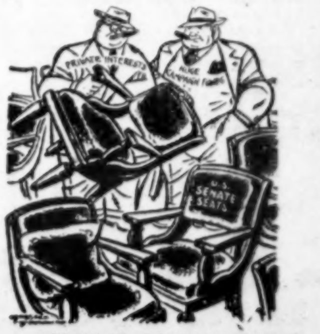

Herblock, Washington Post

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* * *

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES IN
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Thurs, Oct. 14: "The Liberal Tradition—Its View of Society."

* * *

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PRAGMATISM IN AMERICAN LIFE — Education, Psychology, Politics, Law. Round Table with Dr. Harry K. Wells, Leon Josephson, Ben Levine, Dr. Howard Selsam. Full audience participation. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. Sun., Oct. 10, 8:30 p.m. $1.

OCT. 10, 8:30 P.M. Forum on "Latin America After Guatemala." Speaker: Elmer Bendiner at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Cont. $1.

WILL RACISTS SUCCEED in vetoing Supreme Court decision on school segregation? Speaker: Harry Ring. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m., 116 University Pl. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. Cont. 25c.

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NEW JERSEY: THE CASE OF CLIFFORD P. CASE

Jersey GOP torn by anti-communism in confused race for U.S. Senate

KRAJEWSKI FOR PRESIDENT

PIGS IS PIGS

Henry Krajewski, a pig farmer who has switched to beer and cheesecake (see above), is shown during his 1952 campaign for President. This year his campaign for Senator is adding a new odor to the Jersey mud flats.

THE anti-communist crusade in New Jersey threatens to devour its own leaders, as Eisenhower supporters are being heatedly denounced as "left-wing Socialists" by self-styled "rugged Republicans." At issue is the Senate seat of Robert C. Hendrickson (R), who has declined to run for re-election. The GOP has nominated Clifford P. Case, who has the outspoken backing of Vice Pres. Nixon, natl. chairman Hall and other top party brass.

The "rugged" crusaders' feud with Case rests solely on his criticism of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, for which he has been called a "New Deal-Fair Deal candidate" and an "eager beaver for the Americans for Democratic Action."

LINCOLN AND JOE: The political philosophy of the anti-Case movement was summed up by one of its chiefs, a Hillsdale, N.J., real estate broker, Emmett J. Keenan: "I am an Eisenhower Republican who supports Sen. McCarthy. I believe in the policies of Abraham Lincoln, John T. Flynn [Roosevelt-hating economist], Hilaire Belloc [British Roman Catholic writer], George E. Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis Jr. and Westbrook Pegler."

The important name in the list was plainly McCarthy. Backing for the movement, which has torn apart staid GOP meetings, comes from Pro America, a national organization of McCarthy supporters organized on the West Coast, with about 500 members in New Jersey. A "Committee for a Stronger N.J. Republican Party" has been organized locally.

Bringing up the rear in the attack on Case are the openly fascist, anti-Semitic organizations, including the Englewood Anti-Communist League, headed by stockbroker Frederick G. Crawford, a supporter of Allan Zoll's American Patriots, Inc. At a recent Morris County Fair Dr. Emanuel M. Josephson, a New York eye specialist whose interest in the state is unclear, circulated handbills denouncing Case as "Stalin's choice for Senator."

IKE AND HISS: Two years ago Dr. Josephson barged into a press conference belligerently to ask Gen. Eisenhower if he had ever been connected with an organization headed by Alger Hiss. Josephson's anti-Case material is being circulated by Conde McGinley, publisher of the anti-Semitic **Common Sense**, for which Josephson is a frequent contributor.

Former Rep. Fred A. Hartley Jr. (co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act) became a spokesman for this "rugged Republicanism" when on radio and TV he called for Case's withdrawal. He referred to the anti-Case movement as a "grass-roots crusade to save the party from defeat."

The GOP machine was worried. Former Gov. Walter E. Edge called Hartley the "mouthpiece and decoy for . . . a group of party wreckers" and said the anti-Case movement was financed by "a couple of disappointed ex-office holders."

NIXON BLESSING: National Chairman Leonard W. Hall stumped for Case and last week Nixon came to Teaneck, N.J. His answer to the McCarthy backers was to reveal that Case had helped draft the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which the Vice-President called the forerunner of the Brownell laws.

At an Essex County GOP rally Sen. H. Alexander Smith said: "We have had a very unfortunate family quarrel, but I hope to God it is over now."

The fight, which has caused near-riots at some meetings, has ranged Taft-Hartley Republicans against Brownell Republicans with only one issue between them: support of Sen. McCarthy.

Case took up the gauntlet and let it drop again. He said he would not go back on his earlier criticism of McCarthy but saw no reason why McCarthy should be an issue in New Jersey.

THE BARMAN: Having failed to force Case's withdrawal the pro-McCarthy Republicans launched an effort to defeat him. Pressure was put on Hartley to stand as a write-in candidate. The only alternative seemed to be Henry Krajewski, retired pig farmer and owner of a Secaucus bar and grill, confusingly called the Tammany Hall Tavern. On Sept. 21 Krajewski called Hartley "a great American" but declined to step down in his favor, declaring: "I have made too many commitments. I am going to beat the pants off both candidates. You can say I am 100% for McCarthy and a real conservative."

On Sept. 27 Hartley made his firmest declination to date, which seemed to leave the "rugged" faction with only Krajewski for a write-in.

While the pro-and-anti-McCarthy forces within the GOP clamored noisily in the N.J. press, both sides and the Democratic nominee Charles R. Howell silently assented to barring two candidates from the ballot under Communist outlawry legislation, the first such actions in the country. **(See p. 3.)**

PP FOR UNITY: The N.J. Progressive Party took no hand in the inter-GOP fight. It announced it would offer no candidates in this year's elections. The PP had originally nominated Mrs. Anita Vigoda for Congress from the 12th CD. On Sept. 28 PP Vice-Chairman Katharine Van Orden said Mrs. Vigoda was being "reluctantly" withdrawn. Declaring that the need was for "unity, unity and more unity," Mrs. Van Orden said:

"Labor, the Negro people, and many farmers' groups have chosen to rally around Democratic Party candidates in order to break the big business grip on the Eisenhower Administration and the 83rd Congress. . . . While holding no illusions about the consistency of Democratic Party leaders in the fight against reaction, we Progressives want to make our contribution towards uniting the people who are supporting them. For these reasons we have withdrawn our candidate. We will take part in this campaign by bringing our own views to the public, and by working with those people's movements that are rallying to make the Republican rule short-lived."

ALP asks action on segregation riots

JOHN T. McMANUS, general manager of the GUARDIAN and ALP candidate for governor, in a telegram to President Eisenhower last week called the segregation disorders in the border states a "planned conspiracy to flout the decision of the Supreme Court." Unless the "full power of the Federal government" is mobilized against it, he warned, "we will once again be exposed before the world as shameful hypocrites boasting in 31 languages through the Voice of America about the Supreme Court decision and, in plain English, doing nothing to enforce it."

ALP candidate for attorney general George Fish in another message, urged U.S. Atty. Gen. Brownell to act swiftly to enforce the court ruling.

Brush vs. Joe

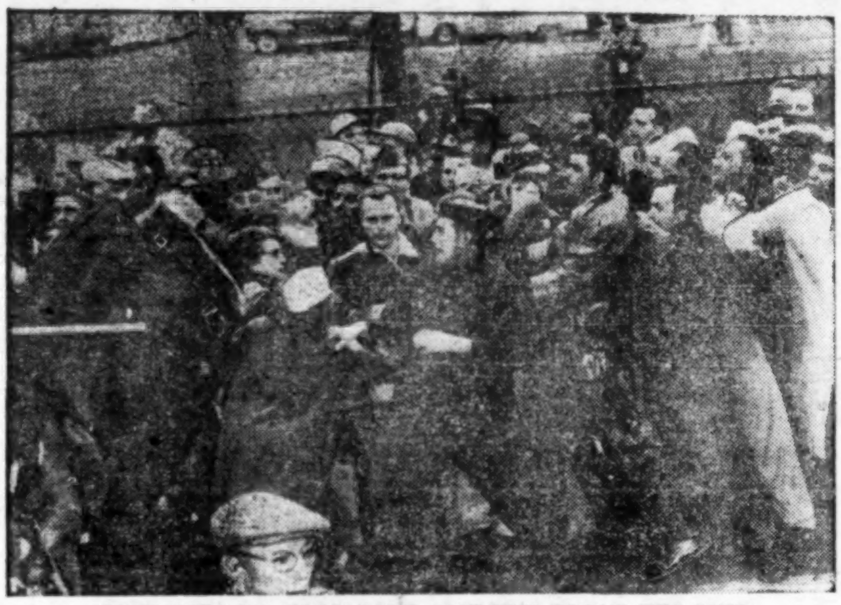
The brush, crayon, chisel and camera are called on for an "Artists vs. McCarthyism" exhibition by the Art Division of the ASP. The show will run from Oct. 18 to Nov. 18 at ASP headquarters, 35 W. 64th St., N.Y.C., with a tour in prospect.

Write to ASP for entry with suggested themes and specifications. Works should be submitted from Oct. 11 to 16.

UNION HEAD POINTS TO A NATIONAL LABOR PARTY

UE asks 30-hour week, defies wreckers

By Lawrence Emery



EVEN COPS ON HORSEBACK COULDN'T BREAK THE LINE
The Square D strike brought new labor unity to Detroit

THE 19th CONVENTION of the independent United Electrical Workers, held in New York City last week, unanimously adopted a 9-point program to head off an economic depression, set a 30-hour week with 40 hours pay as its major long-range goal and rejected the notion that spending for war can create jobs. The 500 delegates, representing nearly 300,000 workers under UE contracts, reiterated the union's militant program and said:

> "We notify both friend and foe alike that this is our course of action and we will not swerve from this course in any useless attempt of appeasement to buy immunity from attack by the foes of labor."

CONTROL ACT TARGET: Since it was expelled from the CIO in 1949 as "communist-dominated," the union has had to fight for its existence against rival unions and employer-government efforts to weaken or destroy it. The UE is listed as a prime target of the newly-enacted "Communist Control Act of 1954." The convention denounced that measure as "a further attempt to establish government control and company domination of the labor movement," but insisted it would not retreat before it. Pres. Albert Fitzgerald, re-elected with all other top officers, renounced any intention to become "respectable":

> "No one can become respectable unless you agree to wage cuts and speed-up. They will also continue to use the false issue of Communism in order to try to discredit us, although they know the issue is as false today as it was when it was first raised in our union. . . . Our only crime has been that we have kept our union democratic and free from domination by any group in this country."

ROAD TO UNITY: Secy.-Treas. Julius Emspak, speaking on the same theme, said: "Let's not lose our nerve and start running for cover." Referring to suggestions that UE seek affiliation or merger with some other sections of the labor movement, Emspak warned that would mean acceptance of escalator clauses, wage cuts and a loss of militancy. Labor unity, he said, "can be achieved if the leadership responsible for such policies feels the pressure of rank and file demands."

Pointing to recent wage cuts in the auto and textile industries, the convention resolved:

> "The fight for wage increases and against wage cuts in the months ahead moves into the center of the stage as one of the most important objectives of UE and the labor movement."

A LABOR PARTY? Fitzgerald saw labor this year forced to seek the "lesser" of evils on the political front:

> "There is not much for working people to choose between Republican and Democratic candidates for Congress. We had better at this time start working in the direction of a labor party in this country so that the worker can have a real choice."

Russ Nixon, the union's legislative representative, said, however, that labor cannot "sit out" the campaign this year. A unanimously adopted resolution said:

> "In the coming 1954 Congressional elections the American people have the opportunity to register smashing victories at the polls. At no time since the end of the Roosevelt Administration have conditions been so ripe for the people to take the first step to turn back the march of reaction and the political misleaders."

The resolution criticized Democrats but added:

> "With all their weaknesses, there does exist a core of Democratic Senators and Congressmen which potentially can be led to wage a courageous, effective fight for the common people. The strengthening of this group, both in courage and in numbers, is a major task for labor in the 1954 elections."

Gold quits fur union job to fight new Butler Act

IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT of the independent progressive unions' fight against the new Butler-Brownell Act, Ben Gold last week resigned as president of the Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union to devote himself to fighting for its repeal:

> "I do not want the demagogues to interpret my activities against this and other fascist reactionary laws as a pretext for intensifying their attacks upon our union. I, therefore, deem it advisable at this time to withdraw as international president, effective immediately."

The union's intl. executive board elected Abe Feinglass, its Midwest regional director, to replace Gold. Gold, a member of the union since 1912 and its president for 17 years, earlier had told the Board:

> "I consider it the duty of our union to contribute everything within its power to the struggle against this monstrous legislation. I consider that the life of every trade union depends upon an uncompromising struggle for the repeal of this law."

Square D strike ends in victory for union

IN THE MIDST of the UE convention word came from Detroit that UE's Local 957 had won "a resounding victory" in the 108-day strike of 1,200 workers of the Square D Co. The dispute had brought forth the first attempt at classic strikebreaking in Detroit in 20 years, with imported scabs protected by the police, court injunctions and all the trimmings (GUARDIAN, Sept. 27). Leaders of CIO United Auto Workers Locals and rank-and-file members responded with mass support financially and on the picket line to win the strike. President Carl Stellato of UAW-CIO Ford Local 600 summed it up:

> "The UAW-CIO local union leadership has not become fat and satiated. The UAW local union leadership will fight to preserve its union and will fight to preserve organized labor. Support for the Square D workers has been a grass-roots spontaneous movement. Practically every UAW-CIO local union in the Detroit area has been represented . . . on the Square D picket line.

Strikers won all their break-and-butter demands, and defeated a union-busting, no-strike clause insisted on by the company.

Fitzgerald told UE convention delegates that the Square D experience was "the beginning of unity of all workers that is going to be achieved in this country in the coming months, whether the leaders go along with it or try to block it."

"HERE IS OUR HOME"

Carnegie Hall pageant Oct. 16 to mark Jewish tercentenary

THREE HUNDRED years of Jewish life and struggle in America will be portrayed in a pageant "Here Is Our Home" at 8 p.m., Saturday, Oct. 16, at Carnegie Hall. In music, dance and song the pageant will review the landing of the first Jews in New York Harbor on Rosh Hashona, Sept. 12, 1654, and their rejection by Gov. Peter Stuyvesant; participation of the Jewish people in struggles against the Alien and Sedition Laws, and later against slavery; the immigration of the 1880's; the sweatshops and the rise of the labor movement; and present-day battles.

Howard Da Silva and Zelde Lerner will perform in English and Yiddish respectively. The script is by Yuri Suhl, author of **One Foot in America** and other novels, and I. Goldberg, Jewish progressive educator. The production will be directed by Elliott Sullivan, with choreography by Lillian Shapiro. Music, arranged by Mische Rauch, will be sung by the Jewish Young Folk Singers directed by Bob De Cormier, and the Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus directed by Eugene Malek.

The pageant is sponsored by the Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement, 189 2nd Av., representing 200 Jewish cultural, labor and fraternal organizations.

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1954.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Editor, Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Managing Editor, James Aronson, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

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3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 35,616

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of Sept., 1954.
FAY KAHN, Notary Public.
My commission expires Mar. 30, 1955

"Dance-Arounds" for teen-agers

SATURDAY NIGHT "Dance-Arounds" for teen-agers will be a new feature of People's Artists, known for their "Hootenannys." The first Dance-Around will be at 8 p.m., Saturday, Oct. 9, at Teachers Center auditorium, 206 W. 15th St. Adm.: 99c.

300 YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE IN THE U. S. A.
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Tickets may be obtained at the Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U. S., 189 2nd Av. GR 7-1375 or at Carnegie Hall the night of the performance.

DuBois course at Jeff School

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS will teach a course on "Reconstruction: 1865-1880," at the Jefferson School of Social Science, beginning Oct. 13. For most classes the school's fall term opened Oct. 4.

A decision is expected shortly from the Subversive Activities Control Board on charges that the school is a "communist front." Hearings under the McCarran Act were held last year. Nevertheless, Dr. Howard Selsam, school director, said last week he expected "a good year," with 2,500 enrollments in 80 classes.

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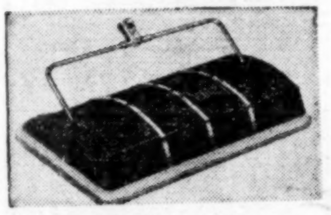

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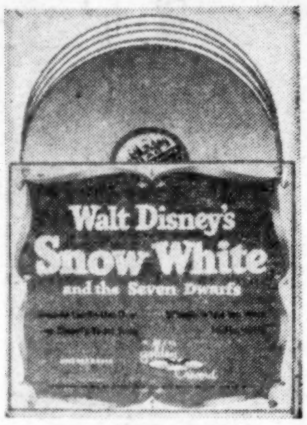

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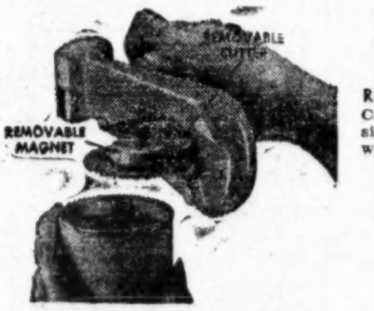

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EXCLUSIVE GUARDIAN REPORT

The Labour Party conference on German arms — and why the leadership won the vote

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the GUARDIAN

SCARBOROUGH, ENGLAND

THE MAN who waited most eagerly for the result of the Labour Party Conference debate on West German re-armament was Anthony Eden, Tory Foreign Secretary. Hardly less anxious were the U. S.'s John Foster Dulles and Bonn Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

The debate at Scarborough was not to decide whether the Nazi generals should be given arms. The British government, backed by a scant majority of the Labour M. Ps. in the House of Commons, had already committed itself to the policy laid down by Dulles. The Scarborough debate was the final battle of the right-wing Labour leadership to maintain the coalition in foreign policy. The "victory" of the right wing leaders exposed their weakness. So strong is the demand for peace and negotiation within the Labour movement that on almost every other issue except W. German re-armament, the leaders surrendered without a fight.

ON STOCKHOLM: When the peace movement was collecting signatures calling for the abolition of weapons of mass destruction, the leaders denounced the Stockholm Appeal as a Communist plot. At Scarborough the demand of Stockholm was adopted unanimously, coupled with a call for a three-power meeting to make the ban on atomic weapons effective.

The leaders had also opposed the call of the peace movement for great power negotiations. Scarborough not only adopted that appeal; it also demanded the admission of China to the UN and warned the U. S. that on the issue of Formosa the Labour Movement stood behind China.

Eden and Dulles will take note of these decisions too. They mean that if the U. S. provokes war in the Far East, it will have to "go it alone." No British government can commit the nation to war for a cause repudiated by the whole Labour Movement and indeed by the majority of its people.

HE STAYED HOME: Prime Minister Churchill, as well as Eden, has been taking note of the effect on public opinion of the visit of former Premier Attlee and his colleagues to the U. S. S. R. and China. It is an open secret among his friends that he dearly wanted to make the trip to Moscow himself. His cabinet colleagues were afraid of the anger such a visit would arouse in America. Attlee got in first, and had he had the courage to come out for a full policy of peace and friendship he would have ensured a victory for Labour at the next election equal to the triumph of 1945.

For despite all the distortions of the press and the consequent bewilderment in the minds of millions, peace is the dominant issue and any leader who can point the path to peace can be certain of support.

THE CHOICE: That was the real issue of the debate on German re-armament: whether Labour should come out for peace even at the risk of breaking with America or continue the cold war. The new Nazi army is at the heart of U. S. policy. If Europe defeats the plan to re-create the Nazi army, it must find a way to conciliation, unity and peace.

But refusal to build the Nazi army also means breaking the American alliance, and repudiating the whole policy of the cold war division of the world, for which the former Labour governments, as well as the Conservative government, bear responsibility.

If the Attlee-Morrison leadership had been defeated on this issue at Scarborough, British Labour would have had eventually to go back to 1945, when it pledged support for Anglo-Soviet friendship, for a UN uniting and not dividing the world, for destruction not only of Nazism, but of the economic causes of Nazism, and for unceasing vigilance against its revival.

FOR ALL BRITAIN: If German re-armament had been defeated at Scarborough, Labour would have been bound to oppose the latest nine-power plan concocted at the London Conference. And in doing so it would have spoken not only for the Labour Movement, but for Britain.

Instead they used every ruse possible to get an artificial majority. The unions, whose members had taken a decision against German re-armament, were cajoled or bludgeoned into supporting the leaders. One union known to be against German re-armament sent in an increased affiliation fee based on a big increase in the number of members paying the special Labour Party levy. The Party headquarters refused the money rather than allow a 50,000 increase in the union's vote at Scarborough. Without this manipulation of union votes, the leaders would have been beaten.

THE OLD LIES: But the real strength of the opposition was shown in other ways. The railwaymen, the metal workers, and the distributive workers, who are against German re-armament, re-affirmed their attitude unanimously, while the miners only backed the policy by the most slender majority, and the two great General Workers' unions, the constant buttress on which the right wing relies, made no pretence of consulting their members at all.

As I listened to the debate at Scarborough, I made a special note every time one of the hoary old lies appeared. Before the end, pretty well every one was out. Attlee, for example, repeated several times the statement that E. Germany is already re-armed. He must know that the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly offered inspection by both German republics and the allies to investigate allegations of re-armament in both East and West, and always it has been Adenauer who has refused.

ON THE RECORD: "The Russians," said Attlee, "have refused free elections in Germany." Unless Mr. Attlee has refused to read the record of the Berlin discussions and the Soviet notes since, he must know that is untrue.

There were plenty of delegates in the hall anxious to answer these untruths, but they were not called on in the debate.

STRENGTH IS CLEAR: The Scarborough decision means that Labour will not be able to fight so effectively against the Eden plan to commit British troops to Europe in order to re-assure France against the W. Germans.

But the balance of forces is not altered by manipulating the votes at a Labour Conference. The struggles of the people of Europe for measures to unite instead of divide Europe will go on. The maneuvers at Scarborough have shown how strong the peace forces are growing in Britain.